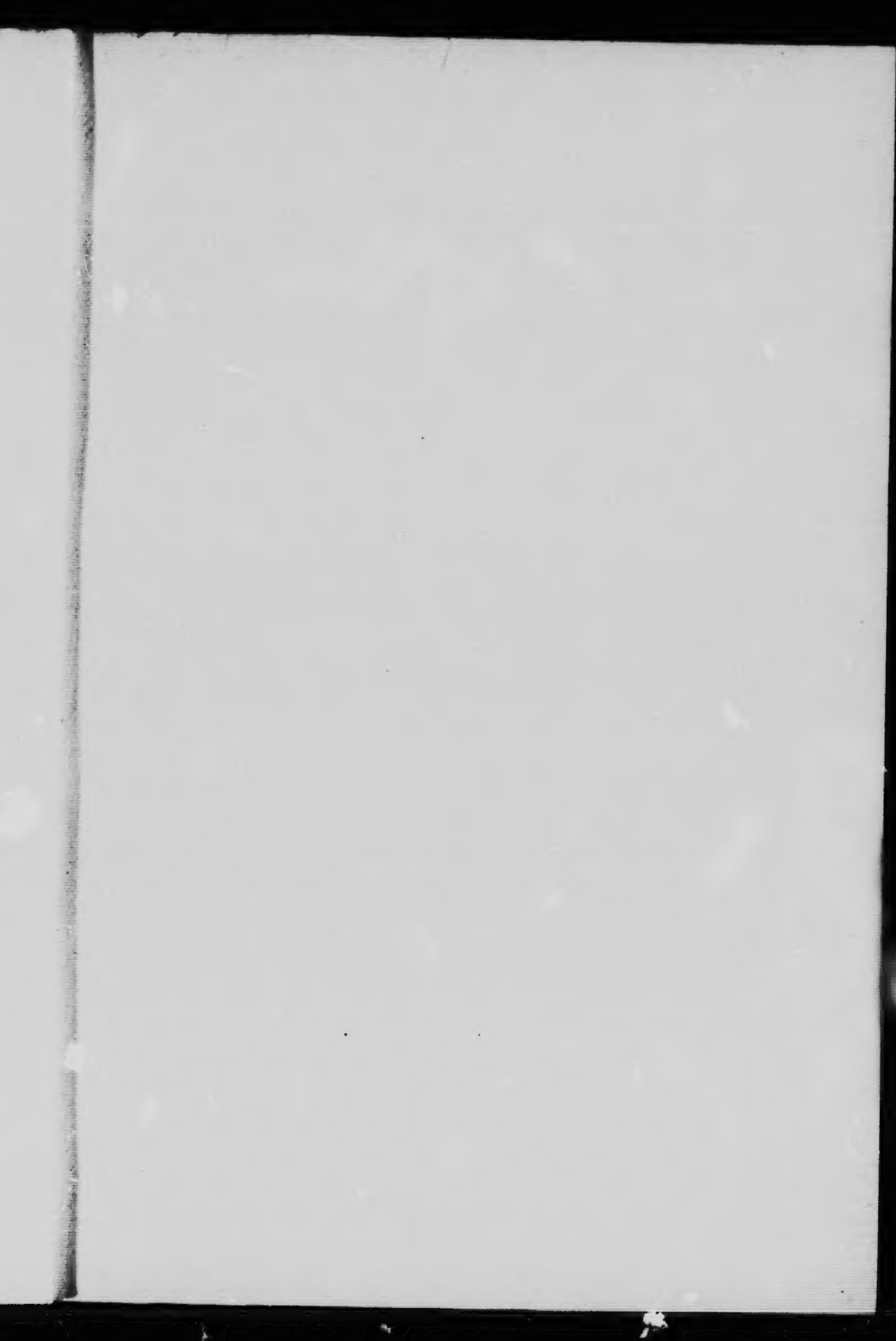
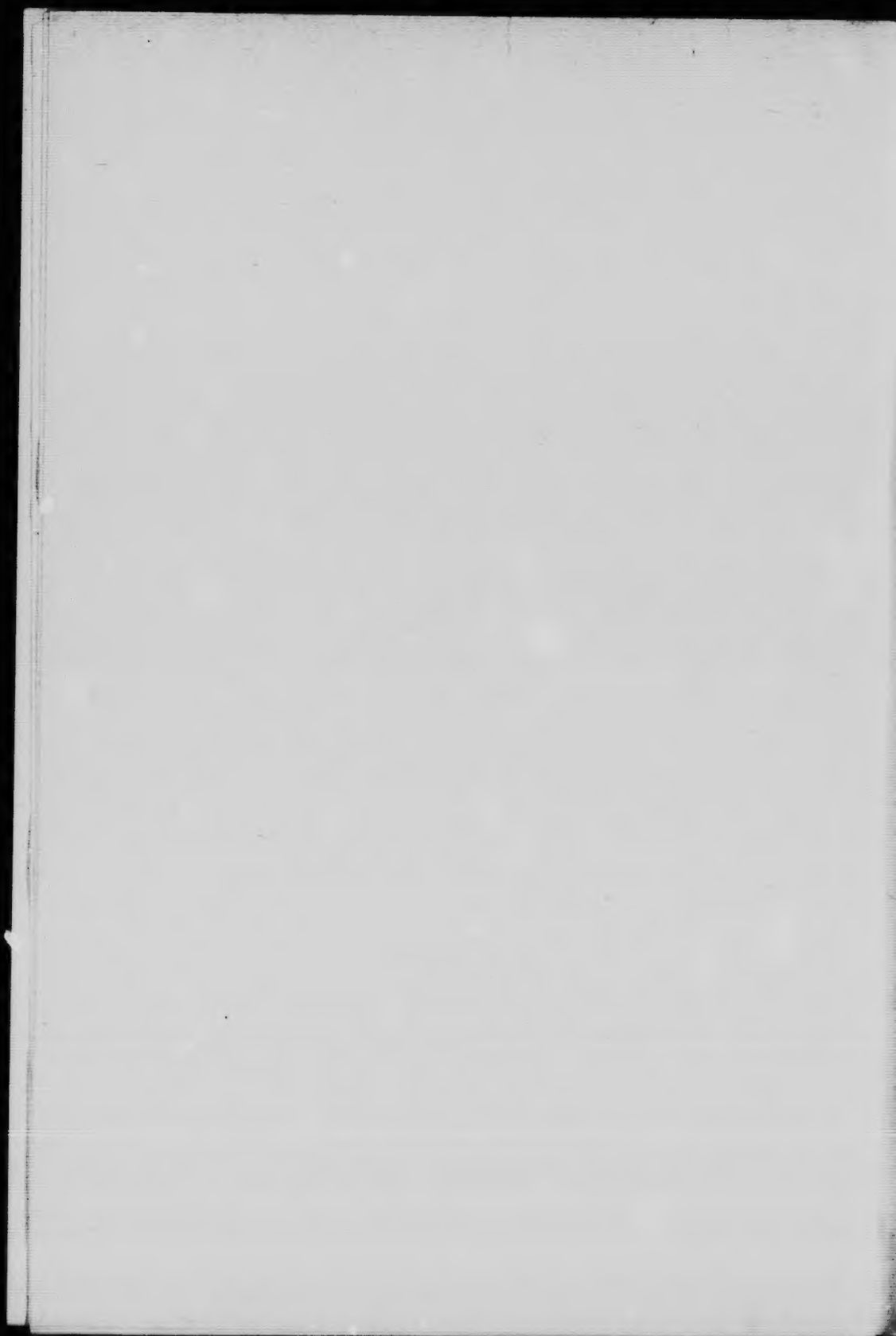


Samuel



BEFORE THE BAR



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BEFORE THE BAR

PROHIBITION PRO AND CON

BY

J. A. STEVENSON



1919

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FOREWORD

THE first duty of a book is to be interesting to all concerned about its subject. If the subject be of general and timely importance, popularity must accrue to the book written in fidelity to that duty. Now the controversy respecting alcohol not only interests but profoundly concerns almost every individual in Canada, men women and children alike. As Mr. Stevenson has treated his theme in a very interesting manner, one may reasonably feel sure that "Before the Bar" will sell and be read extensively.

This is much to be desired for utilitarian reasons. Opposing extremists and fanatics, "pros" and "antis" on prohibition, will learn, as they need to, what is to be fairly, judicially and reasonably said against as well as for their respective opinions. Our author's mind is a just one and the range of his enquiry and statement regarding alcohol has been very extensive. He writes clearly and in the manner of a skilful populariser. His book is even as a court wherein are set forth entertainingly great masses of fact, evidence, history and opinion on the vexed question of the merits and demerits of "Old King Cole." He may be said to leave the business of pronouncing a verdict on the evidence to judicious readers. That these potent individuals or the public which they collectively constitute, should be induced to digest the evidence on both sides is surely of prodigious importance nowadays.

In respect of but one large question to 'ing Prohibition do I find the book silent. Mr Stevenson has not dealt with an important consideration affecting what economists call the Wages Fund. One of their

truisms is that "Wages tend to a minimum" when the supply of labor exceeds the demand, as had long been the normal condition before the war. It is now again swiftly becoming a general condition, which implies that collective labor will at any time receive the least wages which will supply collective laborers what they think essential needments. If they will not work without beer or other stimulants, the Wages Fund allotted to them collectively will include the cost of beer, etc. If they will or are compelled to live without beer, etc., the total sum saved will accrue to the employing classes. This result seems axiomatic. Consequently those of the employed classes, who thrive by abstention from stimulants while these are not prohibited, will find nothing to save if Prohibition be generally enforced. Their wages will have been automatically lessened by decrease of the Wages Fund to the minimum which will support labor without stimulants. Of course such effect of general Prohibition may be overcome by Labor uniting resolutely to prevent its incidence. I do not argue the case at all but merely direct attention to one important matter which this most interesting book does not deal with.

E. W. THOMSON

Ottawa, July 30, 1919.

IN RODUCTION

"Once or twice a month we had a 'booze' meeting of eight or ten young men who sat down to punch and continued drinking and singing to a late hour the teetotal system now gaining ground is certainly preferable to the habitual soaking of port wine or whiskey ; but I cannot help thinking that an occasional 'booze' has a favourable tendency to excite the faculties, to warm the affections, to improve the manners and to form the character of youth. Of course it is understood that excess is to be avoided, which is not only contrary to morality but inconsistent with true enjoyment."—(The autobiography of Lord Chancellor Campbell. Vol. 1, pp. 15, 16)

"All our measures for social and industrial reform will fail to secure the results we desire as long as we continue in our midst an institution which impairs the efficiency of the working man ; curtails the output of the manufacturer ; diverts from productive and beneficial industries a large amount of capital , destroys homes and wrecks lives ; makes paupers and criminals—the licensed bar."—(The Hon. N. W. Kowell, in the Ontario Legislature April 3, 1912.)

John Campbell, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, was in his day and generation a great lawyer and a great Liberal and the Hon. Newton Wesley Rowell lays claim to the same qualifications. It is true that they lived at different epochs and had their dwelling places in lands sundered by the estranging seas. But their opinions set forth above provide typical viewpoints of a controversy which now bids fair, at least on this North American Continent, to equal in zest and ferocity the historic battles of Orange and Green,

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Cavalier and Roundhead, Federal and Confederate. The great issue which is thus illustrated can be summed up in the words, "Wet or Dry," and if one war has been finished, another is still proceeding in our Dominion. Is prohibition to be a permanent measure? Will it be accepted by the mass of the people of Canada as a law to be obeyed with zeal and diligence? What will its effects be upon our social and economic life? Is it suited to the genius of our people? If it is not suitable, what are the substitutes or alternatives? The issue is now "before the bar" of public opinion.

The term "Prohibition" has gradually lost its general meaning and come to apply solely to legislative enactments which forbid the sale of alcoholic liquor. On July 1st it came into force from one end of the United States to the other; from Cape Cod to the Rio Grande, from Puget Sound to the Everglades the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor will be absolutely prohibited. In Canada, save for the oasis of Quebec, which to the bon vivant is to-day the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, our own Dominion is—*pace* 2% beer and native wine—officially "dry." It seemed as if Quebec was destined to join the austere communion, but she lingered shivering on the brink, balked at the last step and now proposes to permit within her bounds the consumption of wine and beer to continue freely, and the use of spirits under stiff restrictions. That province is now, to use a military phrase, a last "strong point" around which the defenders of the liquor system are rallying; in fact her devotion to freedom in drinking has gained for her citizens a high repute in alcoholic circles for wisdom and sanity and has in certain quarters almost cancelled the odium created by their enthusiasm for freedom in regard to military service.

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It is true that the tortures of the transition are in the other provinces occasionally made more merciful by kindly physicians and druggists, but the fact remains that the overt sale of strong alcoholic liquor is to-day at an end in all provinces, save one. Yet it would be absurd to say that the problem has been finally settled either for Canada or for the United States. In the latter country many earnest men, lifelong friends of every good cause, hold that a terrible mistake has been made, that the country has been forced by a band of eager and industrious zealots into a policy for which the majority of the inhabitants have given no authority, for whose consequences they are not prepared, and to which they are at heart opposed. They declare that the prohibition law cannot be properly enforced until public opinion is better educated up to the ideals aimed at, that it is too great a change to be brought about with such swiftness, and that the evils likely to emanate from it will far outweigh the benefits conferred. On the other hand the standard-bearers of temperance declare that the millennium is now at hand and that a new era of happiness, prosperity and goodness is about to dawn for a republic whose statesmen have been so wise as to ban the poisonous traffic in liquor from its bounds. There are some in Canada who contend that the example of the United States must be followed and that it would be a national disgrace to yield to our neighbour the palm of glory won in the furtherance of the cause of temperance. There are others who maintain that the new policy in the United States is a supreme act of folly which Canada can turn to her advantage if she declines to imitate it. Thirsty citizens of America will flock northward over the border, manufacturers will transfer their factories to a land where their

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artisans can stay their thirst in good beer, our pleasure resorts will be crowded every summer and an era of prosperity beside which the late boom will pale its ineffectual fires, can unfold itself for our Dominion.

Here in Canada, though all the Provinces save Quebec had passed local prohibitory laws, their successful enforcement was only made possible by a Federal Order-in-Council which prohibits inter-provincial traffic. The Federal Government had planned to pass through Parliament legislation continuing their prohibitory measures for another year with certain modifications, but the Senate has intervened to bar the extension. Probably the temperance party will now press for the national referendum which had been darkly hinted at by Mr. Rowell and others. The Ontario Government, however, has definitely announced a poll of the lieges on the liquor question. It is highly probable, therefore, that a great question of social policy will fall to be decided in the near future by the Canadian people and a proper decision is unthinkable, if it is to be taken amidst the clouds of confusion, misstatement and personal vilification which usually overshadow the discussion and settlement of our most vital problems. It seems, therefore, highly proper that some consideration of the subject should be available to the public in impartial and judicial form. Now there is ample evidence available gathered by sound economists, capable scientists and experienced sociologists; it has been carefully examined and collated in various books and documents, and the truth is more likely to emerge from such sources than from the environment of emotion and prejudice with which the public discussion of the liquor problem has in the past been permanently surrounded.

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There is scientific evidence available as to the chemical qualities of alcohol and its physical effects upon the human body. There is sociological evidence available as to the moral, social and economic results of its consumption. Testimony can be led as to the effects of prohibition in other lands and as to the divergent results of the innumerable systems under which the liquor traffic has been conducted in various countries. However, statistics can be advanced to prove anything, and in no sphere have statistics suffered more gross misuse than in the study of alcoholism. There are statistics available to prove that wet and dry communities each can muster the greater array of centenarians; that the open saloon increases drunkenness, and per contra that the more saloons there are, the more sober is the community. There are even people willing to prove that the true cure for drunkenness is hard drinking, probably on the theory of a certain famous Highland piper of whom it was said, that "the more he drank, the soberer he got."

Too often in the past the contest has been conducted on confusing lines. On the one hand there are visible stout reactionaries who like their burgundy and Johnny Walker, coming forward in the intervals of their assaults on the Government for legislation to suppress strikes and socialist weeklies, or make trades union illegal, to write furious letters to the press, protesting against the infringement of the individual liberties of the citizen by prohibition. On the other hand there are the acquisitive pietists, who in their business careers have violated every ethical standard and every law of the land, lifting up their hands to heaven and declaring that drunkenness is the father and mother of all crime and that mankind will never be good or honest or pure until it

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is made teetotal by law. Neither the windy maunderings of the ruby-nosed tippler or the anæmic ipse dixits of poverty-stricken rural clerics whose congregations pay them salaries too scant ever to leave them the price of a glass of beer, should be accepted as evidence in the case. There should also be ruled out of court these keen students of foreign affairs who are prepared to declare that Bolshevism is the direct product of the abolition of drinking in Russia. Ireland, alas, provides mournful evidence of the act that the consumption of alcohol is no guarantee of conservatism. Glasgow has long been held up to scorn as the shameless possessor of an age-long reputation for drunkenness, but to-day amid breweries and distilleries galore, the radical labour movement in Britain finds its fiercest expression on the banks of the Clyde.

The drinking of alcoholic liquor is not a moral or political crime. It may be a serious human error and lead to evil consequences for the race. But in any event the case should come before the bar under fair rules of evidence and not in an atmosphere of prejudice and emotion. The object, therefore, of this book, which owes a heavy debt to the researches of other students of the problem and their books, will be to sift the chaff from the grain and examine the facts and evidence adduced in support of both sides of the prohibition question, never forgetting the environment whence they came or the circumstances under which they were produced and to offer its readers an opportunity of forming an independent and satisfactory judgment. The author desires to acknowledge with gratitude the helpful co-operation of his wife, Ruth P. Stevenson, who is responsible for more than one chapter and of Mr. Grattan O'Leary who has corrected the proofs.

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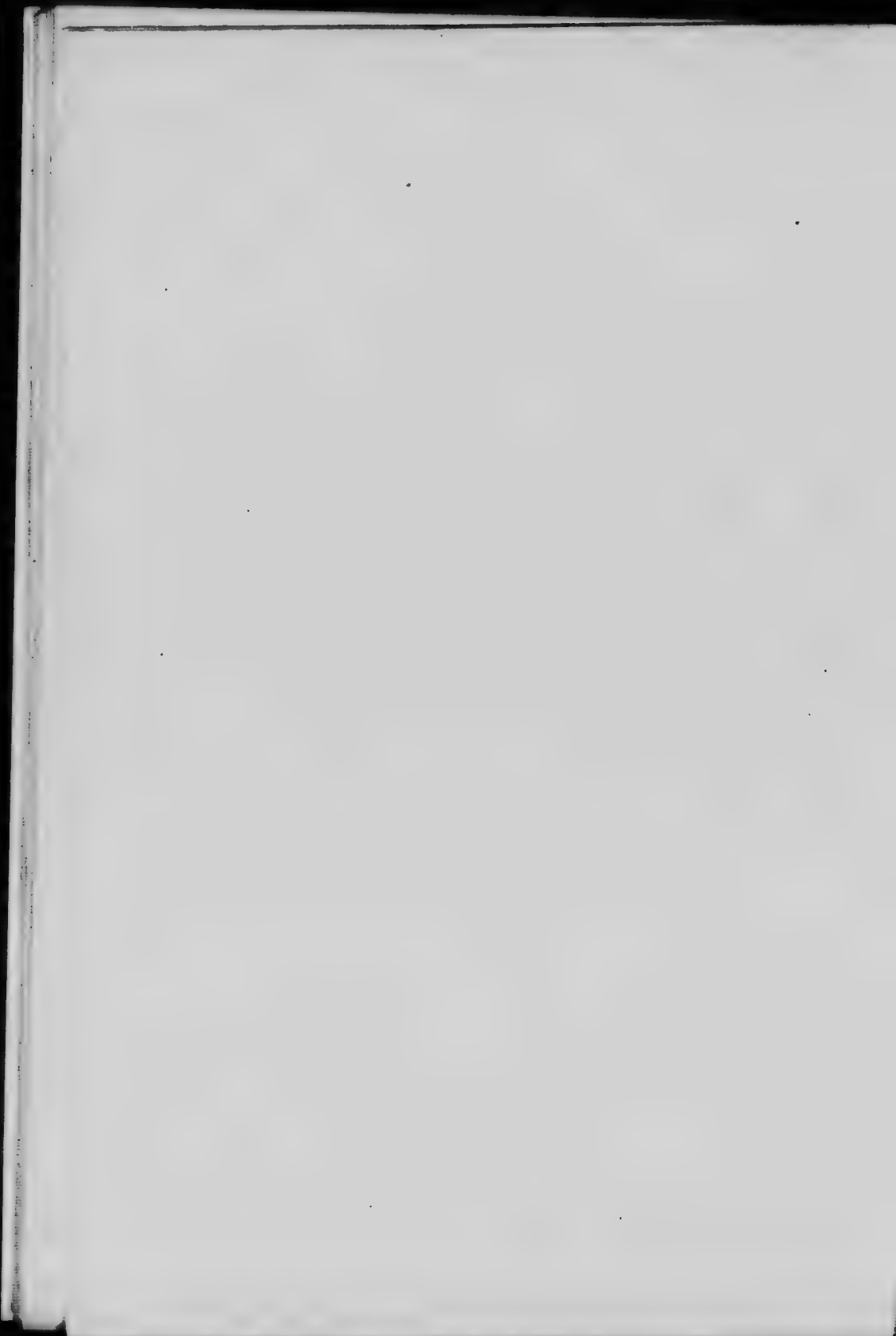
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CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF
ALCOHOL



CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF ALCOHOL.

The word Alcohol is of Arabic origin, being derived from the particle *al* and the word *kohl*, an impalpable powder used in the East for painting the eyebrows and for many centuries serving to designate any fine powder. Paracelsus (1490-1541) uses the word for a volatile liquid and speaks of "*alcool vini—il est vinc ardente.*" In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries our alcohol was known as *Eau-de-vie*,—the elixir of life (which is the modern French term for brandy only). Arnoldus Villanovanus used it as the name of distilled wine, though not as a specific, but from this time onwards it came to mean the ethyl alcohol, the product of fermented sugar solutions which is characterised by its spirituous odour and sharp and burning taste. When was alcohol discovered? It is impossible to assign an exact date for this event as can be so satisfactorily done in the case of those other standbys of the human race, tobacco and potatoes, but it is either an ancient evil or an ancient good, possibly a mixture of both, for it is not, like tobacco, a product of latter day civilization. It may

fairly be said that the desire for some form of drink to warm the cockles of the heart and relieve for a time the stress of anxiety inseparable from man's ties with this material plane, has been sought and obtained in almost every age of the world's history and in every race and clime. Man, both savage and civilized, has this craving in common and a consideration of the alcoholic liquor question is incomplete without some view of its historical aspect. It seems likely that the discovery of this particular narcotising drink was coincident with the arrival of what is known as the agricultural period of man's history. So long as man led a purely nomadic life, he did not grow enough grain to tempt him to try experiments with it, and what is even more important, he had not progressed to the point where he made any pots or pans suitable for either the manufacture or storage of alcohol. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that none of the "pre-agriculturist" people now living, such as the Australian aborigines, the Californian Indians, the Andamanese and the Pigmy tribes of Africa have any knowledge of it whatever. But the races who have come to the "fixed agricultural" period of their development corresponding to those who peopled the earth before the Egyptian civilization, which is

the oldest of which we have any record, all, with possibly one or two exceptions, knew how to make alcoholic drinks before they came into contact with the Aryan races. Among these are the American Redskins and the African Negro. But though the "pre-agriculturists" are ignorant of alcohol, all of them brew narcotic drinks from some vegetable substance. The Californian Indians boil the Jamestown weed for this purpose. The Mohave Indians infuse the leaves and root of strathmonium. The methods of the natives of the Pacific Islands are ingenious, if somewhat disgusting to our now highly refined instincts; they chew the kava root and spit the contents of their mouth well salivated into a vessel where it remains until it has fermented. This last decoction probably contains alcohol in minute quantity.

The period of fixed agriculture began about thirty thousand years ago, some fifteen thousand before the Egyptian civilization came into being, and alcohol has in all probability a like antiquity. Evidently the benefits of alcohol loomed large to primitive and ancient man, for no difficulty seems to have been too great for him to surmount in order to make and imbibe it. But the first great advance in the manufacture of alcoholic drinks came when man began to till the

ground, to grow cereals in real abundance and to cultivate the vine. The Egyptians 6000 years ago had in use wines made from the grape and palm, and a kind of beer made from barley ; the Assyrians also made wine from grapes, figs and palm sap. The Hittites used similar drinks, while Noah, who represents the Jews, "planted a vineyard" at least 4000 years ago. According to Homer the Greeks were well acquainted with wine. The ancient Peruvians manufactured "chica," a beer made from Indian corn, and the Japanese have for many centuries made "saké," which is quite intoxicating, from rice.

Mr. A. Gauthier, in a book called "Diet and Dietetics," writes of the alcoholic drinks in use in the different countries of the world as follows : "In China, *manduring* and *fantsou* ; in India, *arak* ; in Thibet, *choug*, and in Nubia, *couja*, have been made for centuries by causing infusions of rice or other boiled cereals, mixed or not with honey and spices, to ferment. *Palm wine*, *pulqué*, of Mexico, *cachaea* of Brazil, *guaruzo* of South America, *mobi* of Virginia, etc., are prepared with the sap of the palm, American aloe, sugar cane and decoctions of rice and potatoes. In Norway the sap of the birch is fermented ; in the Alps an infusion of gentian roots ; in the North of Europe they have made for a long

time and still make *hydromel* from the honey of bees. Lastly, we know the *keptwi* of the Arabs and the *koumiss* of the Cossacks obtained from the fermented milk of the camel or mare. There is nothing even to the *kangangtsyjen* made by Tartars with lamb's flesh mixed with cooked rice and other vegetables and fermented, which is not used as an alcoholic drink." The ancient Britons in Cæsar's time drank mead, (made from honey) and cider. There is the pleasant legend of the secret of "heather" ale which the last survivor of a certain tribe of Picts possessed and preferred to die rather than reveal. His summary execution has always been regarded in Scotland as a fatal error in national policy. It is believed that about 800 B.C. the possibility of distilling alcohol to increase its potency was discovered. Up to this time alcohol was the immediate result of fermenting sugar solutions of one kind or another. A certain Geber first employed this method and it was freely used by the people of Arabia and Syria. Their first stills were crude and did not produce alcohol of any very great strength from the wine which was used as a distillate, but it did not take the more fertile intellects long to discover that by yet further distillation they could produce a very "heady" beverage by sacrificing quantity to quality,

for every subsequent distillation naturally condenses the spirit, as water is evaporated from it.

When beer was first made, it was flavoured with various kinds of vegetables and spices, and it was not until the fourteenth century that hops were used to flavour it. Judging from the nauseous beers brewed by primitive man to-day, the use of hops must have been an immense improvement to the drink. Brandy was first made at about the same time, but it was not fashionable to drink spirits until several centuries later ; in England the Tudor period initiated this questionable practice. Alcohol has always been in such universal demand even when it could only be obtained in very small quantities and in dilute form that it is believed by many people to be a necessity in certain conditions of the physical body and that the craving for it shows an instinctive need. Be this as it may, it is the problem of intemperance in connection with alcohol which has raised the question of the necessity of legislating against its use throughout past ages down to the present time.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the earliest makers of alcohol were not familiar with drunkenness as we are to-day. The supply of alcohol was very limited, being

confined to what each individual could brew for himself. Moreover, it was usually weak to a degree. But the greatest factor militating against drunkenness was the lack of facilities for storing alcohol and keeping it on tap for the general community. Systematic intemperance is not possible when there is no continuous reservoir such as our modern saloon affords. Drunkenness would occur only at rare intervals at some special ceremonial celebration. It would seem that this particular sin of intemperance is solely the product of civilization. Evidence of this may be found by comparing the social conditions of co-existing civilizations in different stages of development. At the time of the Discovery (1492), the savage tribes of America knew how to brew alcoholic drinks from such products as maize, sweet potatoes, and palm sap. While the consumption of these beverages seems to have been more or less universal, constant drunkenness was unknown to them. But in Mexico and Peru, two far distant communities, there was existent at this time a much more advanced stage of civilization, so ancient that there is no means of estimating the date of its origin. These peoples like manufactured alcohol and both the Mexican and Peruvian authorities were obliged to pass legislation for the repression of drunken-

ness No communication between these two civilizations was then possible, and they were also cut off from the old world, yet both had discovered how to make alcohol. Only the communities most advanced in civilization were confronted with drunkenness ; the Red Indian peoples who were of a decidedly lower order, were entirely free from it. It is enough to mention these instances of comparative inebriety, but there are others which could be cited as yielding the same conclusions. The Egyptian artists of 6000 years ago have left very lurid pictures of drunken revels in which both men and women participated. The first recorded knowledge of temperance reformers is found in Egyptian records of 6,000 years ago, which tell of a demand in the land of the Pharaohs for the reduction in the number of places for the sale of beer. There is also extant a letter written 3,000 years ago by a worried Egyptian father to his son, then a student in the city of Pelusium, sorrowfully complaining that tales had come to the parental ears, as they have come so many million times since, of how he was constantly with evil companions, wasting his precious time in beer houses and had — horrible dictu — repeatedly ended carousals under the table.

It seems likely, however, that among the ancients drunkenness was often regarded rather as a legitimate pleasure than as a vice. There are two descriptions of Paradise which are decidedly in favour of the supposition. Among the Greeks, "an everlasting drunken orgy" was said to be the lot of the Blessed. The races of the North had much the same idea and Odin's Paradise depicted the virtuous imbibing large quantities of ale until they reached a condition of blissful intoxication. Pliny, about 200 A.D., complains of the whole world drinking to excess, while the Bible provides more than one instance of drunkenness among the Jews at all stages of their history, and also among the early Christians. The history of Britain from the time of Julius Cæsar is replete with references of intoxication in the life of the community. The bishops and clergy came in for a fair share of opprobrium in this respect : Boniface in the 7th century, King Edgar in the 10th, Anselm in the 11th, and Archbishop Peckham in the 13th, all denounced this weakness on the part of the pillars of the Church. However, it is quite interesting to note that in the last mentioned century the Church, among its other instructions to the faithful, enjoined the Clergy "to drink well at their meat, and then afterwards for supper ; and

afterwards at the collation each must have a piece of candle as long as the arm below the elbow, and as long as there shall remain a morsel of candle, the brethren must continue their drinking." Everyone is familiar with Henry VIII.'s campaign against the monasteries in which drunkenness was rife, and the Virgin Queen was obliged to forbid her clergy to "haunt ale-houses or taverns."

The general public could not be expected to be any better in this respect than their spiritual advisers and evidence is plentiful to show that every public congregation was attended with an orgy of drunkenness. The return of Edward I, from the Holy Land occasioned a festive carnival, and among other items it is recorded that "the conduits ran with wine." The same thing happened at the marriage of Anne Boleyn and the restoration of Charles II. Thomas Young writes in 1617 that "'Tis now come to pass, that he is no gentleman, a very milk sop, that will not drink, fit for no company." Apparently from this time onwards the vice of drunkenness increased by leaps and bounds as the facilities for making and distributing alcoholic liquor grew with civilization. In the reign of William and Mary a writer states that intemperance raged "from the highest to the lowest." Lord Lonsdale asserted in the

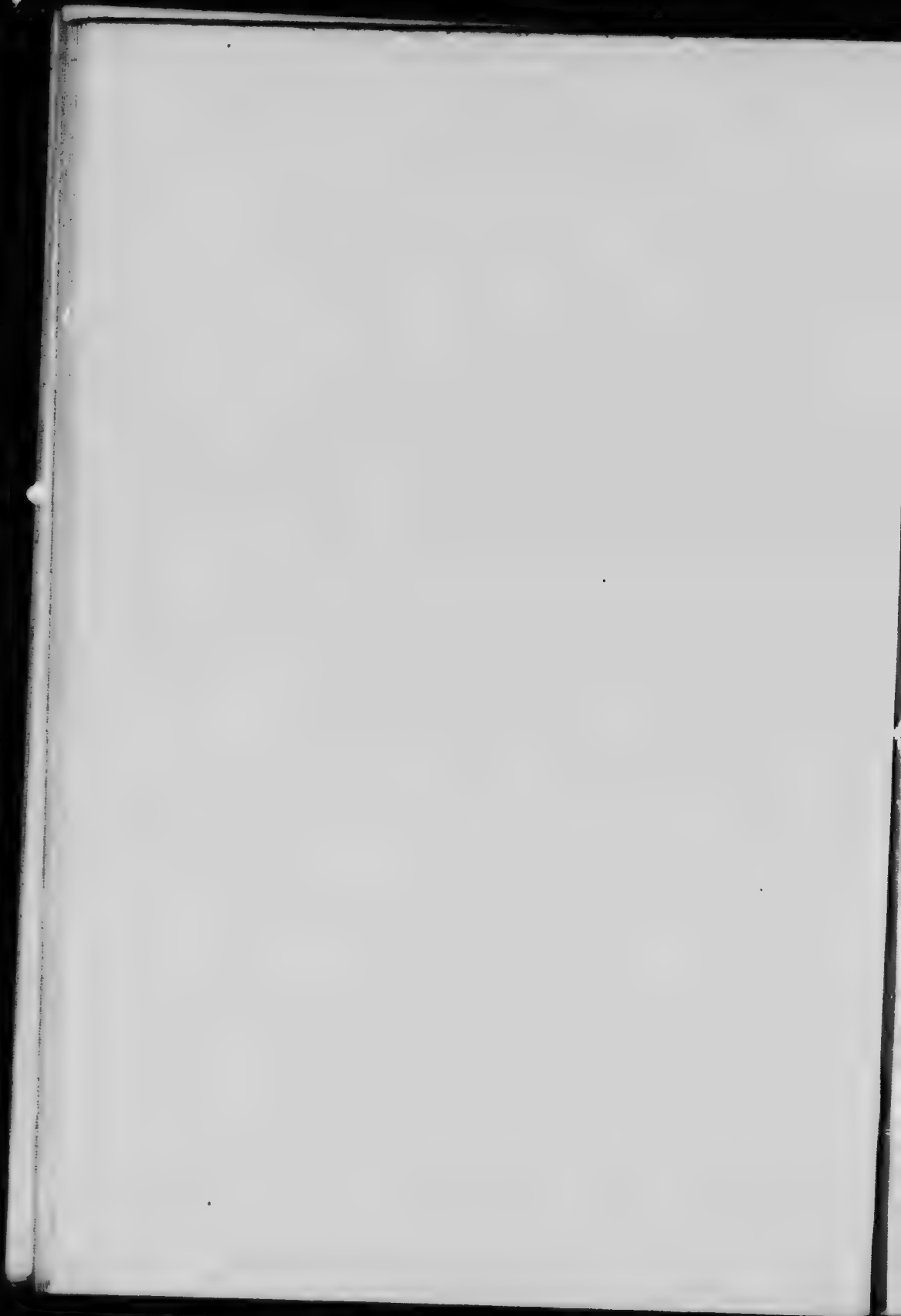
House of Lords in 1783 that "in every part of this great metropolis (London) whoever shall pass along the streets will find wretchedness stretched upon the pavement insensible and motionless." In the 18th century drinking at the Universities was widespread. Each man vied with his fellow as to who could withstand the effect of alcohol the longest. In 1824, Charles Knight, in describing a London Christmas, writes : "In every broad thoroughfare, and in every close alley there was drunkenness abroad ; not shamefaced drunkenness, creeping in maudlin helplessness to its home by the side of a scolding wife, but rampant, insolent, outrageous drunkenness."

Many are the customs that have come to be regarded until quite recent days as quite incomplete without the addition of a drinking bout. It is extremely unlikely that under the regime described above any private celebrations such as marriages and christenings were held without the aid of the glass. To this day the Scot and the Irishman derives, if not morbid pleasure, often a fair modicum of good cheer from the funerals of his friends. It is not even necessary that the deceased be a friend of the mourners to join in the last rites. An enquiry of some member of a long funeral cortege in Scotland as to

the history of the corpse once elicited the response, "I dinna ken, I just came wi' a frien' for the entertainment." The custom responsible above all others for the initiation of drunkenness at modern social gatherings is that of the "toast," but it has ceased for some years to be fashionable to get drunk; stimulants are now measured in glasses, whereas they were formerly rated by the bottle and a man who is habitually intoxicated can count on more criticism than approval from his friends. People are now not in the least ashamed to be water drinkers pure and simple, and even at private complimentary banquets in Britain before the war half the glasses of the company would contain nothing stronger than water.

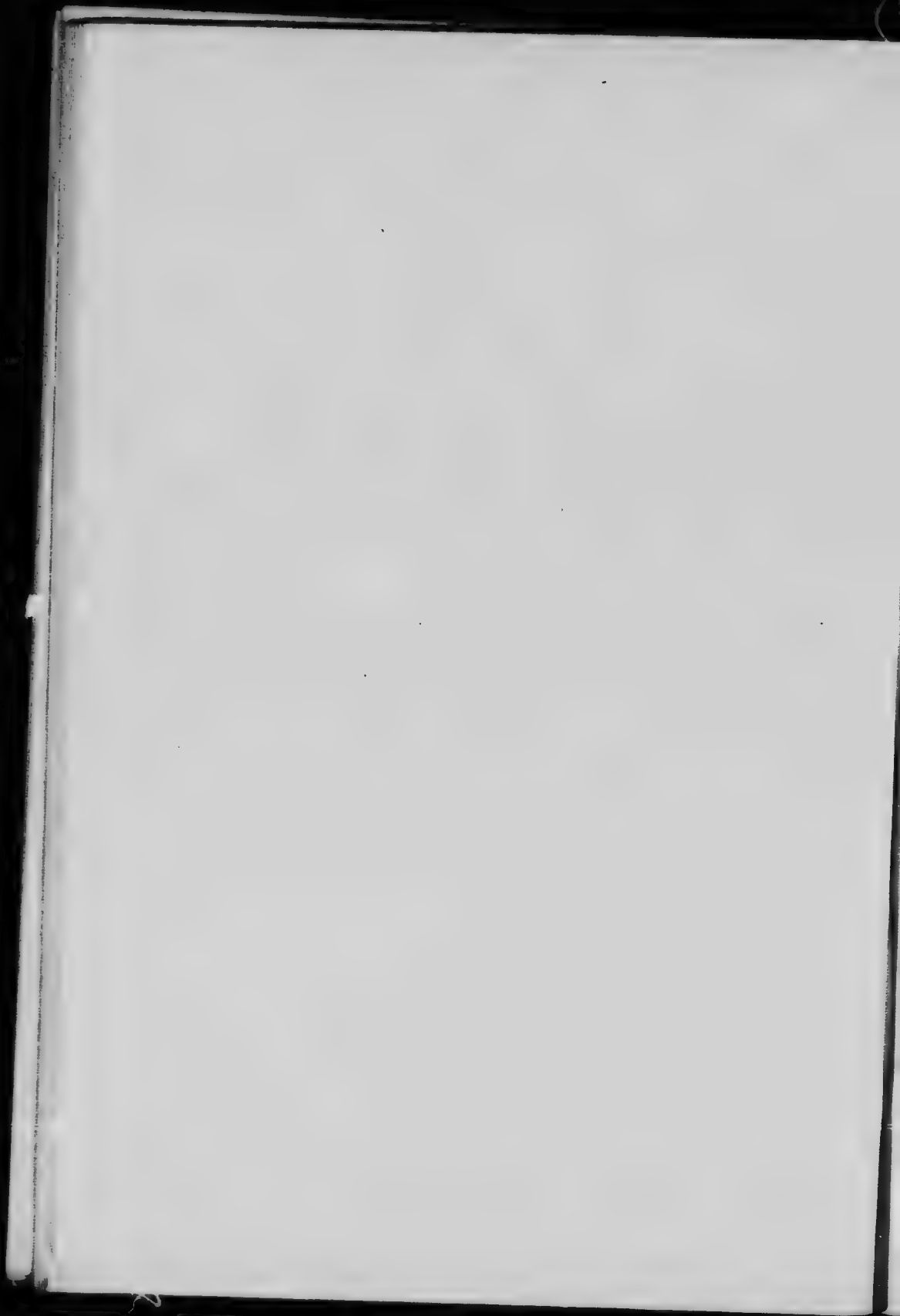
But apart from the history of alcohol as an intoxicant it must not be forgotten that it has for generations been consumed by thousands of perfectly temperate people who regard it as a very valuable food. Old people took it for its supposed revivifying effects, while young girls in delicate health were often given burgundy or claret as a tonic. Among the people of the British Isles there is a very wide-spread belief in the nourishing quality of beer, and in the family budget of the working classes money is set aside as a matter of course for this article

of daily fare as would be done in the case of bread. Farm labourers are given free allowances of beer and cider in the fields at hay and harvest time to increase their capacity for work as well as to slake their thirst. However, this point of view is rapidly changing to the conviction that alcoholic beverages are to be regarded as a luxurious benefit to some individuals rather than a necessity to all.



CHAPTER II.

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL
ASPECT OF ALCOHOL



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THE PHYSIOLOGICAL ASPECT OF ALCOHOL.

What is alcohol? The chemist would reply that it is liquid ethyl hydrate— C_2H_5OH —but to the average layman this is an unsatisfying explanation. To begin with, it is classed with the medicines known as narcotics. These drugs are characterised by two qualities; they exhilarate for a short time and afterwards exert a sedative influence which makes in some degree for sleepiness or insensibility according to the quantity taken. Alcohol can be manufactured in a number of ways, but is usually obtained from the fermentation of sugars. Starchy grains are often used because they contain the necessary sugar. This chemical change known as fermentation is caused by minute forms of vegetable life, micro-organisms, existing primarily in the air. There are certain kinds of sugars which are especially susceptible to ferment. Such are the simple sugars found in grapes, apples and barley grains at certain seasons of the year. These are readily dealt with, but the compound sugar found in beetroot, cane, etc., must be decomposed before it can be fermented.

The bloom on the ripe grape is filled with these micro-organisms, the mycodermata ; they do not affect the grape so long as the skin is intact, but once it is pierced they have access to the sweet sugary juice, and there they set up fermentation, *i.e.*, they gradually absorb the oxygen from the sugar and this change in the chemical constituents of sugar (carbon, oxygen and hydrogen) produces alcohol in solution with water and colouring matter which is afterwards bottled as wine.

But the particular organism, by which alcohol for beer and whiskey is chiefly produced, is called the yeast plant or "*tortula*," by means of which the sugar found in barley grains and placed there for the nourishment of the embryo plant can be turned into alcohol. But first the grain, after germination has begun, is malted to arrest its development so that the embryo plant shall not use up all the sugar. As the yeast buds and grows in the sugar, it splits it up into alcohol and carbon dioxide. The bubbles seen in fermentation are due to the action of carbonic acid gas. However, as soon as all the sugar is devoured by these micro-organisms their vigor declines and they finally die of starvation in the very alcohol they have created. The enemies of alcohol have derived much pleasure in holding this fact

up as a moral to mankind, whose case, they say, is precisely analogous, as every consumer of alcohol is in their eyes destined likewise to sink into an alcoholic grave. Assuredly it cannot fail to be his end if he lives long enough. It is a pity the clause of longevity has to be inserted in the argument, for it spoils this remarkable analogy, though it does make it sound a more logical conclusion in face of the experiences of the average man as to the fate of his alcohol-loving friends. Not more than 13% of alcohol can be obtained in a liquid without subsequent distillation, and this process is resorted to in order to produce spirits containing a higher percentage of alcohol. The percentage of alcohol in the various beverages is very interesting.

Beer	contains usually about	5%
Cider	" "	5%
Claret	" "	8% to 10%
Champagne	" "	8% to 11%
Port	" "	16% to 18%
Gin	" "	31% to 40%
Rum	" "	40% to 50%
Whiskey	" "	44% to 56%
Brandy	" "	48% to 56%

The problem for the brewer and distiller is to obtain enough cheap sugary liquids to convert into alcohol. He therefore does not

always use barley malt, but has recourse to some fifteen substitutes, such as corn, rye, oats, potatoes, and beetroots, molasses, and various grades of glucose.

What effect does alcohol have on the human body? Is it undiluted poison or is it beneficial in moderation? In what forms, if any, shall it be permitted and under what conditions is it desirable to imbibe it? It seems to be well established that alcohol has a detrimental effect upon the growth of cell life. Experiments with plants and animals show that the protoplasm is affected by the alcohol proportionately to the amount applied and the rapidity of the growth and multiplication of the cells is greatly lessened even by small amounts of alcohol. It is therefore no food for babes or indeed for anyone who has not reached his full stature. It is also obvious that large doses of alcohol taken at one sitting, which result in loss of cerebral control by the paralysis of the nervous system ending in drunkenness, are at all costs to be avoided. When a man drinks excessively, he is characterised by mental abnormalities and a certain weakness of character which usually brings him misfortune in some guise or another. He usually drinks for the sake of stupefaction and has travelled far along the road to being a sot. However, practically

every sane person is agreed, and even the habitual drunkard in his lucid moments will acquiesce, in the proposition that opportunities for drunkenness must as far as possible be eliminated from the life of the community. The real question at issue seems to be: Is there any justification at all for the consumption of alcohol in even moderate quantities? For if some men drink it for stupefaction, there are many who drink it for its sedative qualities or for the pleasant stimulation which they believe it to afford.

The school of scientists and reformers who maintain that alcohol is entirely injurious to the human body and its mental personality functioning through the physical brain, take their stand upon the ground that its influence is harmful in the following ways :

(a) It is a poison according to pharmacological classification, and is thus shown to be unfit for consumption as a beverage.

(b) It acts deleteriously upon protoplasmic life, poisoning it to such an extent that cell growth is stunted and in certain cases completely inhibited so that even the adult of full stature suffers from inability to replace wasted tissue.

(c) If it affects protoplasmic life chemically, alcohol also affects the intricate con-

trolling mechanism which is called the nervous system, and through it the delicate corpuscles of the brain. The effect is immediately perceived by a greater freedom of speech and manner and a gradual loosening of the bonds of self-restraint. A man may think he feels pleasantly stimulated, but in reality he is imbibing a sedative which acts from above downwards, first affecting the higher brain centres, the regions of moral and intellectual activity. It next affects the judgment cells, then the emotions and lastly the springs of the will, until there is nothing but the animal man left. Thus, what appears as stimulation, a loosening of the tongue, a greater freedom of speech and manners, is in reality due to a relaxation of the control centres of the brain caused by the narcotic influence of alcohol. In this way also the vital organs are affected. The cells swell into a nodular condition and there is an increase of fibrous tissue resulting in what is known as "fatty degeneration of the heart," "granular kidney," and "hobnailed liver," surely a formidable trio of abnormalities to contend with.

(d) It injuriously affects the neuro-muscular power and repeated experiments upon all classes of men have shown that they cannot

do their work either as fast or as efficiently after the consumption of alcohol.

(e) It affects the metabolism (chemical processes of the body) by making for delayed oxidation (burning up of waste tissue). This causes a man to put on weight, and the evidence of this fact is often mistaken for proof of its nutritive value, which in reality is nil.

(f) It also retards digestion after the digestive mixture has reached 5 to 10% of absolute alcohol.

(g) All alcohol has an injurious effect upon the circulatory centre and the respiratory organs.

(h) Above all, it induces a craving for repeated doses and inaugurates a habit which leads in so many cases to degeneration, crime and insanity.

This view of alcohol has been very ably presented by Sir Victor Horsley and Dr. Mary D. Sturge in their book, "Alcohol and the Human Body," published in 1908. But in spite of the wholesale repudiation of the value of this drug, in no uncertain voice, by two persons deriving great authority from their position in the medical profession, science, to say nothing of the man in the street, still remains unsatisfied with their verdict. They find it hard to believe that

something which has always been used by mankind from the Biblical times to the present day the wide world over can be such an absolutely unalloyed evil as it appears to the prohibitionist vision.

On the other side of this hotly debated question, Sir J. Crichton Browne published a book on "What we owe to alcohol," which is a good standard work from the view of alcohol as a necessary and beneficent agent in man's life. And since legislation for the repression and control of the sale of alcoholic beverages has become increasingly common, the supply of books and pamphlets by persons unreservedly in favour of alcohol has decidedly increased. A recent publication describes itself as a protest against the outrages of pessimistic prohibitionists. What is the ordinary individual, who is not a shareholder in a brewery or distillery, and has no personal prejudices in either direction, to believe? He must form some opinion if he is to fulfil his political obligations intelligently. As is an invariable rule in any widely discussed topic, neither the bitter enemies nor the fervid partisans of alcohol are wholly in the right, and above all other contestants they are both disinclined to give their opponents' case a fair hearing. It was only last year that the results of investigation by a really impar-

tial body were for the first time accessible to the general public. Their conclusions are to be found in the report made by the Committee of the British Liquor Control Board. A jury of eight representatives of medical and mental science, appointed by the Control Board, met together "to consider the conditions affecting the physiological action of alcohol and more particularly the effects on health and industrial efficiency produced by the consumption of beverages of various alcoholic strengths, with special reference to the recent orders of the Control Board." In his preface to this book, Lord D'Abernon, the chairman of the committee, lays special emphasis upon the impartiality of the committee's work, "who did not knowingly or of set purpose take sides with any existing body of opinion." Their main conclusions may be quoted as follows :

(a) Alcoholic beverages are definitely injurious to children.

(b) Apart from the results of its continued excessive use, the main effects of alcohol that have any real significance are due to its action on the nervous system. The result of scientific research concerning the action of alcohol on the respiration, the circulation, the digestion and the muscular system, is to show that, so far as direct action is

concerned, alcohol, when administered in moderate doses, in diluted form, and at sufficient intervals, has no effect of any serious and practical account.

(c) Reliable evidence that alcohol improves in normal circumstances the efficient performance of any muscular act, unskilled or skilled, seems at present to be altogether absent.

(d) The action of alcohol on the nervous system is essentially sedative, and with the possible exception of its direct influence upon the respiratory centre, it is not truly stimulant.

(e) An exhausting and worrying day may leave a condition of tension and irritability which interferes with appetite and digestion ; and in such a condition, and in some persons it may be that wine or some other diluted form of alcohol, taken with the evening meal, will assist the assimilation of food. Again, persons who have overworked to such an extent that they have become too tired to rest may be enabled to sleep when they have taken a small amount of alcohol.

(f) It is nutritive, for it can within limits replace an equivalent amount of carbohydrate or fat in a diet, and has a similar effect in economising proteins.

(g) The temperate consumption of alcoholic liquors may be considered to be physio-

logically harmless in the case of the great majority of normal adults.

The conclusion of the whole matter would seem to be that although alcohol is injurious to children, it is not in the least so to the ordinary adult who does not drink it to excess, and after all there are precious few articles of diet that even a grown person can afford to indulge in to excess. A baker's dozen of jam tarts or a pound of liquorice chewing gum consumed within an inordinately short space of time would prove quite as embarrassing to most people as a glass too much of alcohol. If it is not injurious and it is enjoyable to some people, should they be forbidden to use it merely because of the possibility of its being taken to excess by some individuals?

The opponents of prohibition stoutly maintain, and this report will strengthen their contention, that alcohol is not merely enjoyable, but that it is really beneficial and necessary to a large number of people. It acts, they claim, sedatively upon the nervous system, soothes it and relieves the strain of anxiety, overwork or discomfort. Although its action is often wrongly described as stimulating, it nevertheless undoubtedly acts in such a way that a man feels the illusion of

stimulation, for by its slightly narcotic action it imparts a sedative influence to the higher brain centres, giving them the blessed relief that they crave from the stress and strain which comes more heavily than ever upon them in this twentieth century of quick living. In this way a man talks with less effort and sees the humorous side of life more quickly just because he is freed by the action of alcohol from the realization of fatigue.

Alcohol again has beyond doubt the valuable property of causing sleep to come readily, and while it is not well to depend on any particular physical prop to promote it, yet there must be many occasions when a glass of wine will assist the jaded nerves to take the very rest they need so much to recuperate for fresh work. Alcohol may not improve muscular efficiency, in fact it seems to retard muscular action, when taken in the daytime before or during work, but there can be little doubt that the quality of the work of many individuals might be improved by using alcohol in moderate quantities after the work was done, in the evening for instance, to promote relaxation of the nervous system and ensure refreshing sleep at night. At any rate the researches of this completely impartial and highly authoritative committee have led them to such conclusions.

CHAPTER III.

THE GROWTH OF THE
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The temperance movement, as social and political phenomena go, is of comparatively modern growth. In the days of Shakespeare there were people who gloried in their temperance. There is the boast of Adam; in "As you Like It,"

"Though I am old, yet I am strong and lusty,
For in my youth I never did apply,
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood."

It is true, however, that his Falstaffs and his watchmen were steady patrons of the bottle. Half a century later the muse of John Milton glorified the principles and practices of temperance. Cropping up at rare intervals during the 17th and 18th centuries, there are to be found spasmodic writings and protests in favour of temperance in liquor. Among the names of its advocates are those of Sir John Floyer, Drs. Mainwaring, Cullen, Gregory, Baynard, and John Smith, the latter being the author of a singular book called "The Curiosities of Common Water." The first historical teetotaller known to fame

was a certain John Baines, of Northampton, who in 1703 claimed to be 128½ years old. He was wont to declare that he had buried the town of Northampton ten times over and always attributed his longevity to the fact that his only beverage during his long existence had been "aqua pura."

In the 17th and 18th centuries such a phenomena as an organized temperance movement was unknown in the world, but in the closing years of the latter century the attention of enlightened men was being attracted to many questions which became the subject matter of social reform and agitation in the succeeding century. Of these problems the liquor traffic was one. Though drunkenness had been prevalent from the earliest times, it was the introduction of spirits and particularly gin, which created demands for reform and forced legislative control. The first effective criticism came from the medical world. In 1785 Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, who had issued a stirring exhortation in 1777 to Washington's army to abstain from strong drink, wrote a striking paper called "An Enquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Mind and Body," which attracted great attention and was republished in England. Dr. Thomas Trotter, chief surgeon in the Navy, published

in 1804 "An Essay on Drunkenness," which dealt with the medical effects of the consumption of alcohol. These were personal individualistic efforts but people of Anglo-Saxon stock have a natural bias to association and organized action, and this tendency became visible at an early stage in the liquor controversy. Says the French philosopher, De Tocqueville, in his "Democracy in America," "As soon as the inhabitants of the United States have taken up an opinion or a feeling which they wish to promote in the world, they look for assistance and as soon as they find each other out, they combine. From that moment they are no longer isolated men, but a power seen from afar, whose actions serve for an example and whose language is listened to. The first time I heard in the United States that a hundred thousand men had bound themselves publicly to abstain from spirituous liquors, it appeared to me more like a joke than a serious enactment, and I did not at once perceive why these temperate citizens would not content themselves with drinking water by their own firesides. I at last understood that these hundred thousand Americans, alarmed by the progress of drunkenness around them, had made up their minds to patronise temperance. They acted just in the same way

as a man of high rank who should dress plainly in order to impress the humbler order with his contempt for luxury."

The first temperance society known to history was founded in Saratoga in the State of New York in the year 1808. In 1813 there came into existence the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, but a more powerful and important body took shape in 1826 in the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, which after seven years' existence had 6,000 local societies and over 1,000,000 members. In the British Isles strangely enough, the earliest scene of a temperance movement was in Ireland, which has to-day but a lukewarm enthusiasm for the cause. In 1818 there was a temperance society formed at Skibbereen by a certain Mr. Sedwards, a nailor, and in 1829 the Ulster Temperance Society was formed. At first temperance in the eyes of its promoters merely meant abstinence from spirits. Later on the ideal of reformers developed to a demand for total abstinence, and the name teetotaller came into common use. It had its origin in the North of England, and one Richard Turner, of Halifax, has the credit of inventing it. He was a reformed drunkard and, as a temperance speaker, was renowned for his quaint and humorous style. To

emphasize the completeness of his severance from his old love, he was wont to prefix an extra "t" to the adjective in proclaiming himself a total abstainer and the new word took root and stuck.

After the first early enthusiasm the movement languished for a space till it was revived by Father Mathew's crusade in Ireland which lasted from 1834 to 1842. Endowed with great eloquence and persuasive powers, this noble-hearted priest has had few parallels as a successful missionary since Peter the Hermit. Crowds flocked to hear him speak, and hardened drunkards were converted by the score to teetotalism. In three years, as a result of his tireless labours, the consumption of spirits in Ireland fell from 10,815,000 to 5,290,000 gallons. He crossed over to England, where he met with success on a smaller scale, and in 1843 came to America, where he was well received. He died at a comparatively early age in 1856, but the movement which he headed is still a landmark in the history of the temperance movement. As a temperance orator in the last century, his only rival was the celebrated John B. Gough.

By the middle of the century, temperance sentiment in Britain had been growing in strength, and when Queen Victoria and her

household paid a visit to a distillery at Lochnagar, near Balmoral Castle, in 1848, and it was reported that the Queen had partaken of a glass of the "crathur," there was profound horror and grief in temperance circles and a certain shaking of heads among folk of less strict views at this royal patronage of Scotland's national beverage. Accordingly, an explanatory account was judiciously circulated in papers read by the devout. This narrative stated that the Queen merely put the glass to her lips and when the less careful Prince Consort was about to take a second glass, said, "Do you know what you are doing?" The late King Edward had some reputation as a Bohemian in his salad days, but, if he liked whiskey, the taste was a later acquisition, for he spluttered out the little he took, so the official story ran, and said, "What is that, Mammy?" Also present was the Princess Royal, mother-to-be of the late Kaiser, whom the chronicler reported to have used, with uncanny prescience of the future, the term "liquid fire," in describing the whiskey. This account put a different aspect on the incident, and Victoria regained her prestige as a model of domestic virtue for her subjects to imitate.

In America there developed, with Baltimore as its basis, what was known as the

Washingtonian Movement. Its peculiarity lay in the fact that it was chiefly promoted by reformed drunkards, but, though history does not tell whether their zeal and experience were specially effective factors in conversion, the Washingtonian Movement had few accomplishments to its credit. All these early temperance movements had one feature in common. They relied solely on the weapon of moral suasion and had no thought of recourse to legislation. The change came gradually, and was forced by a variety of causes. It became apparent that moral suasion was not enough, and as long as the scope of the liquor traffic was unrestricted by the State, the curse of drunkenness would freely prevail.

So the temperance forces, while not abandoning the idea of moral suasion, had at an early stage to address themselves to the task of securing political action. The first real agitation for complete prohibition began in Maine in the early thirties under the guidance of a well known American soldier, General James Appleton. He passed out of the fray early in the fight, but among his co-workers was a certain Neal Dow, who was born in Portland in the year 1804, and was destined to leave a larger mark upon the social history of his country. By his services

in the Civil War he attained the rank of General in the United States army, but he had a wider fame in the course of a very long life which lasted almost till the close of the 19th century, as generalissimo of the prohibition forces of North America. Prohibition campaigns henceforth became a regular feature of American politics.

In 1853 there was founded in Britain, the United Kingdom Alliance, whose avowed object was "to procure total and immediate legislative suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors as beverages." Next, there came into being the famous order of Good Templars, which was founded at Utica, in New York, in the year 1851. In 1869 a prohibition party was organized in the United States to fight the presidential election and ran its first candidate for the presidency in 1872, with James Black, of Pennsylvania, as its nominee. The movement was now fairly and squarely in politics, and there it has remained ever since, often to the confusion of other issues. But besides its political aspect the modern prohibition movement is characterized by several features.

(1) It is now international, *e.g.*, the Good Templar Society has branches in every corner of the globe. There was held in London in 1909 an International Prohibition Conven-

tion, which is reported to have been a great success. In the city of Ottawa on May 21st there was held a world-wide Prohibition Conference at which, in addition to delegates from Great Britain and Canada, there were present representatives from far distant countries like New Zealand and Japan. The proceedings were partly occupied in rounds of mutual congratulations over victories recently achieved and partly with expressions of determination to hold the trenches which had been won.

(2) Organizations of women to support the movement have been formed, the foremost of which is the famous W.C.T.U., which was founded in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1874, and has since then carried its white ribbons to victory on many a well-fought battlefield. The W.C.T.U. movement first attained to real power and influence under the guidance of Frances Willard, and its membership is now nearly three-quarters of a million.

(3) Children have been brought under the influence of the movement. In Britain there is the interesting Band of Hope movement, and side by side with it the Church of England Temperance Society. In America there is a Loyal Temperance Legion which attracts large numbers of children to its ranks.

(4) The teaching of temperance has been steadily promoted by educational authorities in the schools.

(5) There has been extensive scientific investigation of the physiology and pathology of alcohol.

But amid all these innovations the temperance movement has never lost ground. It has been supported by magnificent organizations and has been able to maintain an amazing number of periodicals. Few people realize how many papers are published solely in the interest of temperance. In the United Kingdom there are forty, as many more in the United States, and in Canada at least seven. The organized agitation against the abuse and often the use of alcoholic liquor is a most interesting feature of modern civilization, but attempts to ascertain the result of the efforts of the temperance parties are very difficult. Doubtless the numerous measures on liquor legislation, which have been passed in Europe and on this continent, are largely the fruit of their selfless labours and the majority of these laws, it must be acknowledged, have helped in the process of social improvement. At least they are always pointed to with glee and pride by prohibitionists. The latter regard the adoption of

prohibition by a community as a self evident proof of progress and more moderate reformers are wont to see the reduction of licenses in the same roseate light. But the real point should be not the state of the laws, the number of saloons or drunkards, but the habits and development of the people who drink, and the supreme question after all is the effect upon the community of temperance legislation as well as of the moral and other influences which the temperance movement has brought to bear.

CHAPTER IV.

**THE PROHIBITIONIST
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The movement for temperance reform has for nearly a century divided the Anglo-Saxon peoples into three classes, those who refuse, those who use and those who abuse liquor. A better characterization would be, temperates and intemperates. The distinction between abstinence and temperance needs no further definition than a study of the two words ; temperance and intemperance in the use of liquors are as old at any rate as the days of the Ark, and the divergence is not likely to be obliterated in one generation. The cleavage between the two classes and their respective ideas is naturally deep and wide, and it was inevitable that parties should have arisen to develop and promote their ideas. Now the practice of association is a natural and healthful element in the composition of mankind. For men to bind themselves together to abstain from spirituous liquors is a creditable and blameless act, and the early temperance movement had everything to commend it, but as time went on a movement which originally had as its watchword "temperance," gradually changed its

attitude till its demands did not stop short of prohibition and total abstinence for the whole community. The distinction between temperance and abstinence is deeply fixed in individuals of adult years. The enthusiasm of the complete abstainer in its private and legitimate expression is no matter for ridicule and contempt. Often it is a sincere and noble passion, improving the character and not unduly narrowing the outlook, and under these circumstances it is entitled to honest respect and attention. Particularly when a man or woman abandons the liquor habit, he or she is usually impelled by some very serious and lofty motive. It is often noticeable that people who have seen the fruits of alcoholism in the wasted lives of their parents, kindred or friends, possess a deep and abiding passion for abstinence which is beyond and above criticism. The moral influence of abstainers should always be allowed the freest scope, for a man who deliberately refuses an indulgence can exert tremendous influence for good upon the self-indulgent, and the powers and influences of such an individual should never be a subject of ridicule or scorn.

But unfortunately the attitude of many abstainers in Canada and other countries has come to this : "Liquor is nothing but

a poison. It is always dangerous even for healthy people. To use it is to incur a terrible risk for yourself, to injure other people and impair the corporate national welfare ; let us therefore stop the use of it for everybody." All prohibitionists do not claim liquor to be a poison, but the majority are convinced it is. Impressed, therefore, with the duty cast upon it of saving mankind from this terrible evil, there is to-day a large party in the State which declares that there is only one heroic remedy for dealing with the liquor traffic and its attending evils, viz., total prohibition.

In their eyes all other remedies are confessedly partial in their operation, but prohibition strikes at the very root of corruption. To the argument of the infringement of the personal liberty of the individual that no right exists to take away the opportunity for the use of liquor, they make answer that there is no right, legal or moral, which allows a man to do anything injurious, as liquor drinking often does, to others and himself. When it is urged against prohibition that it is in conflict with a natural craving for stimulants which is ineradicable, they retort that there is no such thing as a natural craving for stimulants. It is a wholly artificial product which has been deliberately created and can

be abandoned. Do not children when they first taste alcohol find it either bitter, nauseous, burning or sour? To the plea that it may be hard for elderly people to give up the habit of drinking alcohol which may have become an ingrained custom of their daily lives, they retort that whole nations have lived and flourished as total abstainers. It is useless to point out that the hard drinking races of Northern Europe have been the most successful in the material sense, and that the teetotal Turk has steadily deteriorated. There is the ready reply that climatic and other influences have been the determining factors. If it is argued that prohibition may be difficult of enforcement, that there may be violations of the law on a wholesale scale and that the law in general may be thereby brought into contempt to the future disadvantage of society, the prohibitionists retort that the law can and must be enforced, and that, if an existing Government does not enforce it, they will find another which can. They have no patience with the argument that their measure is likely to ruin large industries and throw thousands of people out of work, and few people of liberal minds would resent their opposition to the plea of vested interest. If the reform is necessary and likely to be successful, the stale cry of the sacrifices of

the savings of widows and orphans, which every vested interest cheerfully trots out, does not deserve a moment's contemplation.

In such wise do the prohibitionists dispose of the arguments against prohibition, and on the other hand they produce a variety of counts in its favour, of which the more important and outstanding are :

(1) The capital formerly absorbed by the liquor traffic can be profitably devoted to more useful industry.

(2) The money formerly expended in the purchase of liquor will be diverted through constructive channels, creating greater happiness in the home, a higher standard of living, and better education for children, a higher development of character in our citizens, and greater industrial efficiency.

(3) The prohibition of intoxicating liquor will prove the most progressive advance taken in the history of the State to render it easier for its citizens who were formerly directly affected by its numerous evils, to escape from their clutches, and to join with their fellowmen in making their highest contribution to national progress and human welfare.

(4) The many urgent social and political reforms such as the abolition of slum areas,

pauperism and other disfigurements of our civilization cannot be successfully attacked until the liquor traffic has been completely done away with.

(5) Prohibition will remove a fruitful source of corruption from municipal, provincial and federal politics.

To-day the temperance party in the United States and in Canada is extremely active and aggressive. They have been flushed with a long series of victories and now are determined to abolish the last beer glass from off the face of the earth as sternly as General Gorgas drove the last mosquito from the Panama zone. Time was when their demands were comparatively modest, but the war gave them a very fine strategic position, and they have pushed it to the limit. It is just possible that they may have overplayed their hands, but for the time being a variety of factors tell in their favour. There is the need for economy and a general protest against waste ; there is a desire for efficiency ; there is a passion for social improvement, to which alcoholism among the poorer classes has been a sorrowful barrier. To-day the temperance party has more sympathizers than ever before, and they have collected these sympathizers chiefly because

the attitude of the majority has been studiously moderate. Its moderation in Canada induced large numbers of our citizens who were not teetotallers to vote for a variety of temperance acts which the provinces have passed into legislation, and to give them cordial support. But as an able and well written pamphlet issued on behalf of the Canadian distillers by Mr. R. T. Ferguson points out, many of the supporters of temperance on these occasions were fully aware that they had still retained for themselves the right of access to liquor and did not bargain for its complete curtailment. They are liable to range themselves on the anti-prohibition side in other electoral contests which may be held on the liquor question, and the temperance people should therefore, if they value the success of their cause, be exceedingly careful to avoid all exaggerated statements and false moral pressure and to let the issue be argued with clarity and fairness. They should be warned that a temporary success, if misused, is often followed by disappointing setbacks. In the thirties and forties of last century New England was deeply moved by the total abstinence movement. First the imaginative sense of the people was stirred by the sight of obvious evils around them, and their moral sense was then brought into

play. For a period public sentiment waxed so strong that abstinence became common and temperance almost universal in the villages and country districts. There was not the same wholesale improvement in the larger towns and cities, but the trend was always in the direction of betterment. The statements and reminiscences of reformers of these days show a pathetic belief that the total abandonment of alcoholic liquor by the whole United States was only a matter of a few years, so infectious would be the example of Maine's virtue. Emboldened by their success they carried their campaign to extremes before public opinion was ripe for it. They maintained their hold on Maine with some difficulty, but failed to extend their conquests further for many a long day. Seventy years elapsed between the passing of the first Maine prohibition law and the final ratification of the 18th amendment of the constitution, and even then the necessities of the war contributed in a large measure to a victory which President Wilson's message to Congress on May 20th reveals to be far from complete.

CHAPTER V.

**THE WRONG OBJECTIONS
AND THE RIGHT**

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A large element of the anti-prohibition party base their hostility to prohibition on the ground that it is a monstrous infringement of the liberty of the individual, and its enactment a deplorable instance of that tyranny of the majority which the minority in all democratic countries is always ready to condemn. In their eyes it is a blow at the fundamental principles of liberty and contrary to the primary doctrines of liberalism. It has happened that in the British Commonwealth the prohibitionists have usually been found on the Liberal side of politics because on the whole the Liberal was the party of reform and more likely to attack vested interests and proven abuses. In the United States, however, the Democrats have consistently claimed to be the party of reform, but at one time their connection with liquor interests was close and profitable. In fact the Democratic party were once described as being a compound of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." The truth is that prohibition is no necessary part of the Liberal creed, and though it often happens that its strongest

opponents are persons who are averse to liberalism in any shape or form, on the other hand there are many earnest Liberals not in any way interested in the maintenance of the liquor trade who regard prohibition as inherently hostile to the spirit of Liberalism. By various schools of thought, therefore, prohibition is denounced as coercion of a worse type than conscription.

Now the true nature of liberty and coercion can only be realized with reference to one another, and their mutual opposition has been constantly manifested in life and history. Herbert Spencer begins his essay on "Sins of Legislators" with these striking words: "Be it or be it not true that man is shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin, it is unquestionably true that Government is begotten of aggression and by aggression." The fact must be faced that coercion is the basis of all government. In the last resort, the legislature where the local sovereignty resides in it, is the director of force in the Commonwealth with the executive as its agent. The object of Government in thus using coercion is not to deprive its citizens of freedom, but to secure freedom. It does not originate force, but collects, directs and applies force already existing. In the process it places serious restraints upon individuals, but it should

always free its restraints from any arbitrary tinge and make them regular and rational. All who try to set up the liberty of the individual in contrast to the authority of the State start with two false premises, first that liberty is always a good thing in itself, and coercion a bad thing, and secondly, that any increase in the one means a diminution of the other. To affirm that coercion is bad and liberty is good is to make them ends in themselves rather than means to ends as they really are.

It is difficult to see how it is expedient or right to allow a man liberty to hurt himself. Suicide is sternly prohibited by all civilized nations. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, the great English jurist, declared that liberty was good or bad according to the use to which it is put, just as fire is good or bad according as it warms or burns us. Coercion should therefore be praised or condemned according to the object for which it is utilized. It is impossible to deny that if a man can be induced to do the right willingly of his own free will this course is not better from every point of view than that he should act grudgingly because he is under compulsion. But all must submit to coercion of some form or other and often suffer it without submission. The coercion of Government is only the one

side of a wider question and the coercion of society and public opinion are even worse evils. Protection against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough. There is also needed protection against the tyranny of a prevailing opinion and faith and here in Canada the "yoke of opinion" is often infinitely heavier than that of law. In many districts the prohibitionists have made very skilful use of the yoke of opinion.

The whole prohibition problem raises the question of the relation of the State and the individual. Now the organic unity of society is a first principle of political science against which the protests of individualists are vain. A famous passage in the works of John Stuart Mill, in which he condemned the Maine Law as an infringement of liberty has been freely used as a shield and buttress by the literary defenders of the liquor trade, and they have made much of his statement that the act of drinking fermented liquor belongs to acts and habits which are not social, but individual. Professor R. M. McIvor, of Toronto University, however, in his book, "Community—a Social Study," thus disposes of this contention in a most effective manner:

"There are no individuals who are not social individuals and society is nothing

more than individuals associated and organized. Society has no life but the life of its members, no ends that are not their ends, and no fulfilment beyond theirs. There is no conflict between society and the individual, between the welfare of society and the welfare of the individual. There is no social morality that is not individual morality. Social relations, in a word, are simply those elements and functions of personality in each which are dependent on the elements and functions of personality in others. Society is therefore not relations, but beings in their relationships. It follows that there is no social function which is outside of the function of personalities. Society is in us, in each of us, in some degree in all, in the highest degree in the greatest of us."

Even Mill answers himself in another passage where he says: "As soon as any part of a person's conduct affects prejudicially the interests of others, society has jurisdiction over it and the question whether the general welfare will or will not be promoted by interference with it becomes open to discussion. To individuality should belong the part of life in which it is chiefly the individual that is interested, to society that which interests society. Whenever, in short, there is a definite damage or definite risk of

damage either to an individual or to the public, the case is taken out of the province of liberty and placed in that of morality or law." It is risky in these days to quote any German authority, but Immanuel Kant belongs to humanity. His doctrine was that everyone should seek his own happiness in the way that seems good to himself, provided that he infringes not such freedom of others to strive after a similar end, as is consistent with the freedom of all.

The problem of majority rule and how far it can be carried has long excited the interest of philosophers, and has been the subject of endless dispute and argument. But certain definite conclusions are clearly inescapable. The force at the command of Government is the resultant of the forces of the whole community which neutralise each other in this coagulation in a central authority. In short Government controls and guides the accumulated forces of the commonwealth. If therefore a country enjoys a democratic constitution, the question of the opposition of coercion and liberty assumes the guise of the conflicting rights of majorities and minorities. There is no measure to which there will not be a dissenting minority and the rule of the majority is in some form or other of necessity accepted in all democratic communities in

the ultimate, secretly evaded and thwarted though it often may be. The real question is whether the will of the majority does not often degenerate into the tyranny of the majority. But where the common weal needs some course of action, any plan adopted must offend some individual and to prevent a minority from forcing their schemes upon an unwilling majority does not constitute tyranny. Tyranny does not consist in the use of coercion by majorities but in its abuse. It would be sheer tyranny if a prohibitionist majority in a legislature were to make it a criminal offence to publish letters advocating beer and wine licenses or if they used the closure drastically to force through a completely prohibitive law. But no such an attempt has ever been made or suggested in Canada.

The only practical safeguard against the tyranny of majorities lies in the diffusion of enlightened views as to the nature of society and of a spirit of impartial justice and sound morality. The tyranny of the State, of society or of the majority can be guarded against only from within, not from without. If the political standards of the community are such that the individual is given a fair opportunity to bring the whole weight of his personality to bear on the discussion before

the problem is settled, he has subsequently no right to object to his individual views being overruled by the decision of the national majority. A community which desires its democratic machinery to work with fairness and efficiency should adhere to the following rules :

(1) The dissenting individual or party ought to be allowed freely to plead every argument against the disputed measure and "closure" should be used only when freedom of discussion has been obviously abused or turned into a mere agent of obstruction.

(2) The majority should make an honest effort to study and appreciate the minority's point of view ere bringing in play sheer force of numbers for its defeat.

(3) Every effort should be exhausted to convert the minority ere force is applied.

(4) More coercion than is absolutely necessary should be avoided.

(5) The minority on its side should, if beaten, loyally accept the result, acquiesce in its conclusions and cheerfully work for the success of the resulting policy adopted as the community's.

Those who object to the rule of majorities must direct their efforts to regulating its abuse, since it is impossible to abolish it

save by substituting for it the rule of minorities which should be abhorrent to our democratic ideals. The burden of proof that the anti-prohibitionists have not been allowed a fair hearing and that the scales have been consistently weighted against them lies upon that party, and though there may have been an absence of heroic effort on the part of some of the champions of prohibition to understand the contrary point of view, the freest possible discussion and consideration of the problem has always been allowed and even encouraged in Canada ere any decision was sought or taken. The argument based on the infringement of individual liberty and the tyranny of the majority simply will not hold water in face of the theories of society now accepted in all civilized countries and the opponents of prohibition must betake themselves to others. To-day the theory of society that aims at the complete autonomy of the individual is utterly anarchistical and entirely impracticable. With these theoretical objections disposed of, there remains these questions worthy of consideration in regard to prohibition :

- (1) Whether the social consequences of the evil as it exists are sufficiently grave to justify the stringent character of the sug-

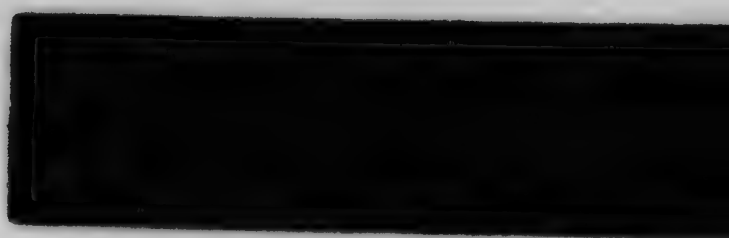
gested remedy, complete prohibition of the use of liquor by a uniform Federal law, and

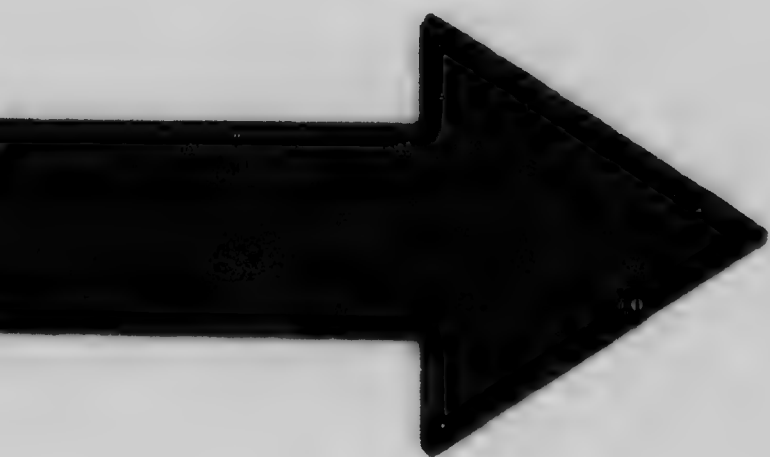
(2) Whether that remedy carries with it a sufficient promise of practical success.

In short, the whole problem is practical rather than philosophical and should be determined by experiment rather than by theory.

There are, however, very real and serious objections to complete prohibition as distinguished from abolition of the bar, concerning which there is practically universal agreement. Firstly, in a country of such enormous distances and with huge areas sparsely populated, complete prohibition will be extremely difficult of enforcement. From statements made by Mr. J. D. Reid, in the House of Commons, at the beginning of the session, it is apparent that the number of illicit stills is on the increase. The arrests for violation of the law tell their own tale. Secondly, large elements of our people to-day take an open pride in their skill in evading the liquor laws, and from this it is an easy transition to a general contempt for all laws. Thirdly, as long as one province, which contains more than one-quarter of the population of the country, continues to allow the sale of liquor, even under comparatively strict regulations, there will be a continual agitation

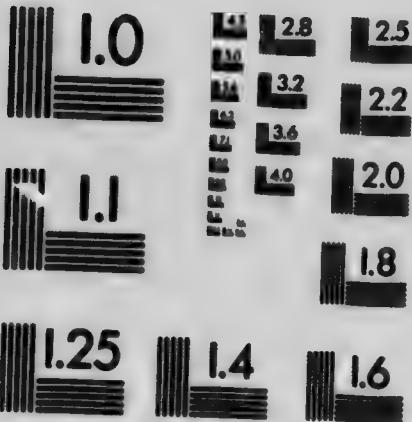
in other provinces for a similar regime and the prohibition question, which is by no means our most important problem, will distract attention from glaring social and political evils. Fourthly, in a country of such diversity of racial elements and human types, there must be varying social habits, and it is impossible to prescribe a uniform regime for all of them. Fifthly, there are within our bounds a large immigrant population who have become habituated to the use of alcoholic liquor in their native lands and find it very hard to rid themselves of the habit. In particular the immigrants from the British Isles take very unkindly to complete prohibition and, if it is maintained permanently, they will at a time when immigration of British stock is badly needed here, prefer to go to other lands. Sixthly, if there is one danger to which Canada is liable more than another, it is the development of an austere and melancholy puritanism which will expel all traces of sweetness and light from our civilization. Canadian life needs more sociability instead of less, and complete prohibition will promote pessimism and moroseness rather than optimism and hilarity. Seventhly, as countries go, Canada has for the last two decades been an exceedingly temperate land. We were moving swiftly to obliterate all the worst evils





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of the liquor trade, but the sudden jump into complete prohibition, which was made possible by the exigencies of the war, and has not really received whole-hearted popular sanction, may produce in time a disastrous reaction toward real alcoholism and widespread drunkenness from which heretofore we have been wonderfully free.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TEMPERANCE AND
PROHIBITION MOVEMENT
IN CANADA

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THE TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN CANADA.

ITS EARLY HISTORY.

Long before the scattered provinces of Canada were forged into a united Dominion, temperance movements had been a feature of Canadian life. The first recorded societies were simultaneously founded in Nova Scotia on April 25th, 1829, one at Beaver River and the other at West River in Pictou County. They were followed by others not only in the Maritime provinces but in Ontario and Quebec, then known as Upper and Lower Canada. A temperance crusade was in full swing in Ontario in the early thirties, but it was interrupted by William Lyon MacKenzie's rebellion. After the suppression of the revolt the Government were accused of providing rum for the intoxication of the Indians, who had volunteered to serve on the side of authority. In Montreal the movement started a paper called the "Canada Temperance Advocate," which appeared every month. All evidence available reveals the social habits of the early pioneer days to

have been distinguished neither by elegance nor temperance, and the rude festivities of the pioneer settlers often degenerated into glorious carousals. Local historians like Mr. Robert Sellar, whose history of Huntington and Chateauguay is a most interesting record of early days in the Eastern Townships, time and again recount instances of settlers meeting death either by being frozen in winter or being drowned in swamps in summer. The victims of these accidents are very frequently recorded to have been under the influence of liquor.

But the temperance idea gradually gained strength and in 1842 a report from Prince Edward Island declared that "a great change had taken place and large gatherings are now held at which no case of intoxication is reported." New Brunswick came under the beneficent infection and there was founded in the early forties a total abstinence society called the Portland, probably after the famous prohibition city in Maine. One of its most prominent and active members was Sir Leonard Tilley, who lived to play such an important part in Confederation and subsequent political history and who throughout his long life was an active and zealous leader of the temperance movement, often earning mirthful sallies at his expense from his less austere chief, Sir John Macdonald, who

throughout his long life was no contemner of Bacchus. By 1843 there were 120 temperance societies in Lower Canada (Quebec) with 45,000 members and in Upper Canada (Ontario), there were 386 societies with 60,000 members. Montreal was evidently a more puritanical community in those days than now, for in 1843 the underwriters of the city were presented with a memorial by the merchants asking that a preference be given as regards insurance and freightage to ships which sailed under temperance rules. Kingston was at that time the capital, and though a very small place possessed 130 licensed houses. Under the influence of the temperance movement these were reduced to 66 in a short time. In those days the chief sponsors of the temperance crusade were the Methodists, and in 1844 the Methodist Episcopal Conference was able to boast that its entire membership consisted of teetotallers. The crusade for the conversion of the ungodly had already begun, for we find that in 1843 a Rev. Mr. Marcoux delivered a temperance address in the Iroquois language to certain red men who were supposed to be prone to temptation.

In 1848 the famous Father Chiniquy, whose revelations have been the favorite literary pabulum of the Orange Order and all

anti-Catholic citizens of Canada for several generations, began a vigorous temperance crusade in Quebec. A "Manual of the Temperance Society," 200 pages in length, compiled by him, was published in French, and hundreds of meetings were held. It was almost a repetition of Father Mathew's success in Ireland, and two hundred thousand people in Lower Canada took the pledge. There was also a strong movement about the same time in Nova Scotia which came to possess 150 temperance societies and the first politician with aggressive temperance views now appeared in the Legislative halls in the shape of the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, long a celebrated figure in a political arena of Canada. The scene of his activities was Ontario, and he was always available to address temperance meetings and drag criticisms of the liquor trade into his parliamentary speeches. But it was in New Brunswick that the first serious temperance legislation was enacted and it may be news to many people in Canada to realize that prohibition was in force in an important section of the Dominion long before the Hon. Mr. Rowell and the Rev. Ben Spence were born or thought of.

New Brunswick lies cheek by jowl with the State of Maine, and the prohibitionist agitation south of the border could not fail

to be without some influence on the northern side. In 1851-2 there arose an agitation in New Brunswick asking that the Americans in Maine be not allowed to surpass the Canadians of New Brunswick in zeal for liquor reform, and on June 1st, 1853, a modified prohibition law came into force. Its provisions, however, only applied to wine and spirits, whose sale and manufacture were still allowed under very strict conditions. In 1855, however, the reformers in New Brunswick, having kept up their pressure, wrested from the legislature a complete prohibition law, which totally forbade the importation, manufacture of or traffic in intoxicating liquors, and the province was then able to proudly hold up its head beside its neighbour, Maine.

Meanwhile, the agitation was spreading through the other North American colonies, as they then were. In 1853 the signatures of 70,000 people were attached to petitions sent to the Canadian House of Assembly, asking for the enactment of the Maine Law. In 1854 a Bill putting the Maine Law into effect was introduced and read a second time by 90 votes to 6. But next year when it reached them, the Upper House, as so often happens, came to the rescue as a barrier against rash innovations and rejected it, making skilful use of a technical flaw. In

1856, 100,000 signatures were secured to temperance petitions in Upper and Lower Canada, but the cause received a setback through the descent into disrepute of the prohibition law in New Brunswick, which was proving farcical in its results. One temperance record of the times states with delightful naiveté that there was "great uncertainty attending its execution," which in less obscure language means that wholesale evasion was skilfully practised with the connivance of the Government.

In 1856 the Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick forced a dissolution with the result that the opposition gained office, and one of its first acts was to repeal the prohibition law. New Brunswick was then a very small community, with a scattered population and a vast undeveloped hinterland. Its chief industry was lumbering, and a large element of its population was not of the most law-abiding and temperate type. Probably no community could have presented a less favourable subject for an experiment in prohibition; the evidence therefore of its failure there 60 years ago need scarcely be given a moment's consideration, and the liquor interests would be well advised not to stress it. The only lesson of the New Brunswick experience is that temperance, like liberty,

can only be preserved by eternal vigilance on the part of its lovers.

In 1856 there first came into prominence one of the most sincere and attractive leaders of the temperance cause in Canada, Mr. John Dougall, the proprietor and founder of the "Montreal Witness," who in season or out of season made his paper a doughty spokesman of democratic causes, but above all other things an unwearying champion of temperance reforms. No man in Canada lent more dignity and authority to the cause of temperance and the great success of the movement in the Dominion can in no small degree be attributed to the unselfish idealism with which John Dougall and his paper contrived to envelop it.

By 1858 Good Templar lodges were being freely established throughout the country, and Mr. Malcolm Cameron introduced a temperance bill in the Canadian Legislature. At that time the consumption of spirits in the province of Ontario was as high as four gallons per head per annum, and Toronto with a population of 50,000 had 460 dram shops. In 1859 a law reduced the number of licenses in Toronto to one for every 150 of the population, and as a result diminished the number of liquor shops by one third. It was the beginning of a long train of events which has paved

the way for the capital of Ontario to win the epithet of "The Good" and a repute as one of the most outwardly austere cities on the North American continent.

In Nova Scotia some strange liquor regulations were authorized by the legislature. The unhappy miners, whose calling, it may be presumed, engenders thirst beyond the common run, were forbidden to buy drink in any shape or form. People who had failed in business were also for some amazing reason put under a special ban, and it was decreed that they should not be supplied with more than 10 gallons of liquor if their creditors declared them to be given to intemperance. The allowance cannot be described as illiberal. Simultaneously, far away in that Arcadian colony known as the Red River settlement, a temperance society was formed. But in 1862 another temperance society was formed in an even stranger place, namely, in the Parliament of Canada. To its ranks there flocked twenty-four members of Parliament, twenty clerks, and to lend an air of dignity and prestige, three noble members of the Upper House. The first sign of its influence was a law making it illegal for drink sellers to hold seats on Municipal Councils.

In 1864 the Hon. Mr. Dunkin, a prominent politician of the day, introduced and

secured the passage of a Permissive Prohibition Bill which really instituted a form of local option. The municipality of Binbrooke was the first to adopt its provisions. In the Bill there was a curious clause which gave a right of action for damages to relatives of people whose death was caused through the sale of liquor by a particular drink vendor. Its success, as usual, depended on the strictness of its enforcement. By the time of Confederation in 1867, it had been voted on by 90 municipalities and accepted by 65 out of these.

At this epoch the religious bodies were active in the movement. The Wesleyan Methodist Conference annually condemned the use of intoxicating liquors at the Lord's Supper. The Primitive Methodist Conference issued a decree refusing to recognize as a minister or official, ~~any~~ habitual user of intoxicating liquors, which proves that there was not in those dark ages the complete unanimity on the subject of alcohol prevailing to-day among the Methodist brethren. The Red River expedition, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, was in official eyes conducted under strictly temperance principles, tea being given to the troops instead of spirits, but people who participated in that difficult enterprise have recorded that the tea was exceedingly

unpopular in practice. However, Sir Garnet Wolseley reported that the result was a complete success, and that there was a total absence of sickness and crime. In 1873 there was a sort of temperance revival carried on by the Methodist churches, the Good Templars and the Sons of Temperance, which won many converts. By this time Confederation was in a working order, and the temperance party in Parliament secured a commission, consisting of Col. F. Davis, and the Rev. J. W. Manning, to examine the state of liquor laws in other countries and recommend a policy. In 1875 resolutions were passed in the House of Commons by 72 to 9 in the Lower Chamber and 25 to 17 in the Upper, favouring the adoption of some sort of prohibition. In 1877 the Hon. Mr. MacKenzie, the premier of the day, made a confession of faith in these words: "For thirty years I have never ceased to believe in the cause of prohibition," and committed the Government to ameliorative measures on the subject. The fruit of this decision was the famous Canada Temperance Act, which the MacKenzie Government backed with all its power and influence. It met with comparatively little opposition, but the Speaker of the day, a Mr. Anglin, was deeply incensed at it. In the committee stage he took a vigorous part in the discussion.

and deprecated the measure as one that would lead to "riot and tumult." His protests were of no avail, and the Act became law on March 15th, 1878.

The measure was popularly christened the Scott Act, after its sponsor, Sir Richard Scott, and enabled any city or county adopting it by a bare majority of the voters to prohibit under severe penalties the sale of liquor for local consumption within its bounds save by druggists for medical, scientific and mechanical purposes. If the Act received endorsement, it remained in force for three years; when that period ended one-fourth of the electors could by petition have it submitted to a further vote and if a majority against it was secured, it ceased to operate. Contests over the Scott Act provided for four decades a fruitful source of interest and diversion to the rural communities of Canada; the battles waged around it equalled in zest and ferocity the bitterest Parliamentary elections. It found greatest favour in Ontario and New Brunswick, but as far as enforcing prohibition even in the municipalities where it was accepted, it was far from a success. In fact it was more honoured in the breach than the observance.

Professor Goldwin Smith declared after close examination of its workings, that its

chief result had been, "the substitution of an unlicensed and unregulated for a licensed and regulated trade. The demand for drink remained the same, but it was supplied in illicit ways. It was found by those who were engaged in the campaign against the Scott Act that the lowest class of liquor dealers were far from zealous in their opposition to prohibitive legislation. They foresaw that the result to them would be simply a sale for liquor without the license fee. Drunkenness, instead of having diminished appears to have increased." He could also quote in support of his opinion, a memorial signed by 300 citizens of Woodstock to the following effect : "The Scott Act in this town has not diminished but has increased drunkenness ; it has almost wholly prevented the use of lager beer, which was becoming an article of common consumption ; it has operated to discourage the use of light beverages, substituting therefor in a large measure ardent spirits ; and it has led to the opening of many drinking places which did not exist under the license law, and to the sale of liquor being continued until hours after midnight."

Principal Grant, of Queen's University, was in his time one of the foremost figures in the Dominion. He was not only an educationalist and scholar of the first rank, but also

a man of intense public spirit and a champion of every progressive movement. He was deeply religious in his outlook, and a life long advocate of temperance, but he intervened in the later years of his life to oppose by speech and letter the demands of the extreme temperance party. He declared that "the more varied his experience and the more mature his reflections on the springs of human action, the more convinced was he that the prohibitionists are on the wrong track and that they have been and are doing more harm than good to the cause of temperance. The men who use malt or fermented liquors soberly as all God's gifts should be used, or the men, who like myself do not use them as beverages, but always for a reason which appeals to their sense of duty, and which does not bind anyone else, save in so far as it appeals also to his reason and conscience, these are the temperance men."

The contention of the numerous critics of the Scott Act was that under its operations the number of places in which liquors were sold increased rather than decreased; that owing to the suppression of the regular traders the business was thrown into the hands of the worst class of people, such as bottle hawkers and blind pig artists; that spirits were gradually taking the place of beer, wine or

cider because they contained a larger percentage of alcohol and could therefore be more easily smuggled ; that spirits sold by the "blind pig" fraternity were of the most pernicious kind ; that people drank the more deeply because they drank in secret ; that treachery and black-mailing had become rife and that people who adopted sneaking habits, were losing respect both for themselves and for the law. The temperance party naturally were able to produce much counter evidence to rebut these charges, and show statistics of improvement in trade and social conditions in temperance districts. Whatever the merits of the case were, in many communities where the electors had been marshalled by efficient organization and strong clerical pressure to vote for the Act, they seemed to set themselves with wholehearted zeal to discover how its rules could be best evaded. In 1887 the Act was in force in 62 places in Canada, but by 1892 the total was reduced to 30. In 1895 members of a Royal Commission on the liquor traffic declared that "The Scott Act as an aggressive weapon has been abandoned." At the same time prohibition sentiment in Canada was still very keen and the temperance party remained active and vigilant.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN CANADA

ITS MODERN HISTORY

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The Liberal party, in Federal politics, during its years of opposition had made considerable overtures to the temperance vote, and obtained noteworthy support from it at the 1896 election, on the promise of an adequate Dominion measure of temperance reform. To fulfill its pledges, the Laurier Government in 1898 arranged for a nationwide plebiscite on the subject of prohibition. This vote was duly held and resulted in a slight majority for a federal measure, Quebec being the only province which gave a majority against it. But there was considerable dispute as to the capacity of the Dominion Parliament to enact a prohibition measure, though the Privy Council eventually sustained it, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier made the excuse that the narrowness of the prohibition majority did not justify the Government in taking any action.

The contest gave further evidence of the fact that there was among the Canadian people of all classes a very sound sentiment

in favour of abstinence, but a writer in the Daily News in September, 1902, after examining the situation, hit the nail on the head by declaring that "in Canada legislation has got ahead of public opinion on the drink question. The law in most of the provinces is very stringent, and is generally disregarded—not openly, but with a pretence of disguise. A good deal of drinking goes on, but not in the open. In fact, it is a very rare thing to see any wine, malt liquor or other intoxicants on a dinner table in Canada."

The hard times which Canada knew up to 1896 probably tended to diminish the volume of drinking, but, when the boom which began with the amazing development of the West after the South African War, brought increased prosperity to the country, there was a change in the social habits of the country for the worse from the temperance point of view. There came in thousands of immigrants who had known practically no restrictions in the use of liquor in their native land. Money was plentiful and times were good, and as a result there arose in many cities a serious orgy of drinking, and the liquor trade flourished as never before. The temperance party had been comparatively apathetic as long as there were no signs of widespread abuse and excess in liquor drinking, but the vast increase

of drinking practices revived the temperance sentiment and gave its apostles a new incentive in the good cause. From 1900 onwards their success in inducing communities to adopt local option was amazing. By 1910 the great majority of the rural districts in Eastern Canada were under the system. Its administration was lax and its success was modified, but it was there and the liquor interests were being gradually driven back to the towns. In 1911 new life was infused into the temperance crusade by the advent of Mr. Newton Wesley Rowell, to the leadership of the Liberal party in Ontario. Whatever Mr. Rowell's critics may say, he took a bold step when he nailed his temperance colours to the mast and led his party in Ontario to make "banish the bar" one of the planks in its platform. But the first great temperance victories were to come in other fields. It was the province of Manitoba, always a storm centre of Dominion politics, which led the way in provincial prohibitory legislation, and provided a model for the other provinces to imitate.

In that province in 1899 the Conservative Government of Sir Hugh John Macdonald had been helped into office by its advocacy of prohibition and in fulfilment of its pledges the measure known to history as the Mac-

donald Act had been drafted by Sir James Aikins, the present Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, who among numerous other activities has been a life-long temperance reformer. It was submitted to a popular referendum in 1900 and defeated by a majority of 16,600 against 10,621. This defeat is clearly intelligible when it is realized that the referendum was conducted under the supervision of that famous apostle of righteousness in public life, the Honourable Robert Rogers. The Liberal party had a long and weary struggle with the Roblin-Rogers administration and in its search for votes and allies promised to enact the temperance measure which their opponents had failed to carry through to fruition. Accordingly, when the Roblin Government, in 1915, came to a summary end amid scenes of popular rejoicing, at the first session of the new legislature the Attorney General, Mr. A. B. Hudson, introduced the Manitoba Temperance Act. Its terms were practically identical with those of the Macdonald Act and provided that no person should sell or expose for sale in Manitoba any liquor without first procuring a druggist's wholesale or retail license. Wholesale druggists were to be permitted to sell ten gallons of liquor to persons engaged in mechanical or scientific pursuits for the purpose of their activities and were also allowed to sell five

gallons to medical practitioners, and a certain quantity for sacramental purposes. Importation was not prohibited. Section 49 forbade the keeping of liquor by any person except a druggist in any place except a dwelling house. A man might keep in his house any quantity of liquor which he had obtained in a legal way and brewers and distillers could carry on business with people outside the province. The Act was obviously far from a measure of complete prohibition ; its main effect was the abolition of the bar. The Government followed the example of their predecessors and submitted it to a referendum. Women were not allowed to vote and the Government took the attitude of referee between the contending parties. The contest which ensued was brief and sharp and the prohibitionists pursued a vigorous campaign of public education. The Conservative party did not oppose it officially, but there suddenly appeared from the mist a new organization called the Manitoba Prohibition Electors' League, which took the ground that the Temperance Act would not promote temperance and that such as opposed it were the real friends of prohibition. The discovery, however, that its chief organizers were well-known liquor men somewhat shattered its capacity for influencing the electors. The vote was taken on March 13th,

1916, and revealed a majority of 50,484 to 26,502 for the adoption of the Act, which came into force on June 1st, 1916, with the benedictions of the Government and various leading Conservatives.

Saskatchewan under the Scott Government had closed its bars and instituted a sort of Gothenburg or dispensary system modelled on the North Carolina scheme. The experiment had proved notoriously profitable for the province, and in the six months from July 1st, 1915, to January 1st, 1916, an investment of \$1,484,494 had earned a net profit of \$378,847. The temperance people, however, continued their crusade and the policy was so strongly attacked in the Legislature that the Government announced that the dispensary system was only a half-way house to prohibition. Accordingly at the municipal elections on December 11th, 1916, the male and female voters of Saskatchewan answered the question, "Shall the liquor store system be abolished?" by a majority which averaged six or seven to one even in the cities and in this wise alcohol officially vanished from the "granary of the West."

Meanwhile Alberta had not been idle. In 1914 a prohibitory liquor act had been passed which was to be subjected to popular vote on July 21st, 1915. The Act was based on the

Macdonald Act of 1900 and was therefore practically in the same terms as the Manitoba Temperance Act. The electorate approved of it by 58,295 to 37,509. Accordingly the Legislature was in the 1916 session, called upon to put it into effect "without substantial alteration" under the provisions of the Direct Legislation Act, and on July 1st, 1916, it duly came into operation.

In British Columbia at the beginning of 1916 the sore straits of the Bowser Government induced them to consent to pass a Prohibition Act, whose application was to be ratified by popular referendum. The referendum took place simultaneously with the general election, which drove the Bowser Government from office, and resulted in a narrow majority for prohibition. The new Liberal Government, however, accepted the verdict as authority to put the Act into operation, and it came into effect in the Pacific province on July 1st, 1917. The British Columbia measure was likewise after the pattern of the Manitoba Act.

In 1898 New Brunswick had given a majority of three to one in favour of prohibition, and by 1916 almost 81% of the population were under local option. Pressure was brought to bear by clerical and other bodies, and on April 20th, 1916, the Attorney General,

Mr. Baxter, introduced a prohibition Bill. It finally passed the House on April 27th, and became operative on May 1st, 1917. The 71st Convention of Maritime Baptists declared on October 17th of that year in St. John that "in New Brunswick we have upon the statute book one of the most comprehensive and drastic laws of any province in the Dominion. Temperance workers and Christian men and women have worked and prayed for this to come, and now we stand at the threshold of a new day."

At the beginning of 1916 the Scott Act was in force in five counties in Nova Scotia and a special Nova Scotia Act, which could be substituted for it by popular vote, in twelve. There was a special license law for Halifax, which was the last fortress of the liquor traffic in the province. On February 24th a Conservative member moved for the repeal of the Halifax License Law and the establishment of complete prohibition in the province. The Murray Government made the measure their own, and the special liquor privileges of Halifax disappeared on July 1st, 1916, despite the protests of the three Halifax members, who demanded a plebiscite. Before the Bill came into operation its opponents appealed to the Federal Minister of Justice to enforce a federal veto, but he allowed the law to take

its course. At the Provincial election in the fall the prohibition measure formed part of the stock-in-trade of the campaign. The Government took credit for it and the Conservatives criticized it. Their criticism cost them the temperance vote, and the Government was returned by a large majority.

Prince Edward Island had enjoyed prohibition, strict in theory but lax in practice, for many years, and the Island Utopia was accordingly spared the carnival of a prohibition campaign at this juncture.

While these brave events were going forward, Ontario could not afford to stand still and forget the liquor problem. The province had secured from a Liberal Government in 1897 a special Liquor License Act, which among other regulations laid down the principle of local option by a bare majority. In 1908, however, the Whitney Government had introduced amendments making a three-fifths majority of the electors voting necessary to carry local option. Despite this handicap the "dry" areas had been steadily increasing; and by the end of 1913, 502 out of 835 municipalities in the province were free from the temptations of liquor. Mr. Rowell and the Liberal Opposition in their campaign had made "banish the bar" a foremost plank in the party programme, but the electors were

apparently content to move slowly along the lines of local option and declined to give any extensive support to him and his colleagues at the Provincial elections of 1911 and 1914. The extensive campaign of anti-liquor education which was carried on by the Rowellites was soon, however, to bear fruit. When the war came it made available to the prohibition party an excuse for increased pressure upon Governments and public opinion, and Mr. W. H. Hearst, who had succeeded Sir James Whitney, was known to be personally in favour of stringent temperance reform. An aggressive temperance campaign was planned and late in 1915 there came into being in Toronto the famous "Committee of One Hundred," which has been the butt of innumerable scribes and scoffers. It indulged in a most effective campaign of advertisement and argument, partaking both of appeal to conscience and of expositions that prohibition was synonymous with patriotism. The movement was kept on a non-partisan basis, securing the support of many Conservatives and a monster petition with over a quarter of a million signatures was hurled at the Government. Inevitably opposition was aroused and the Personal Liberty League, Bishop Fallon of London and the Toronto Trades and Labour Council followed one another in protesting

against prohibition on the varying ground that it would throw thousands of workmen out of employment, be a violation of personal liberty, breed "dives and joints" and create contempt for the law. The Government, however, was on the side of the angels and fortified by a pledge of support from Mr. Rowell introduced a new Ontario Temperance Act on March 22nd, 1916. On examination of its terms it was found that as in the other provinces the Manitoba Temperance Act had been strictly adhered to. It did not stop the manufacture or prevent the importation of liquor nor did it supersede the Scott Act, for these were matters of Dominion jurisdiction. The late Mr. W. J. Hanna, who had charge of the Bill, claimed that the Government was keeping pace with public opinion and meeting war time conditions. He also admitted that it would have been advisable to have held a referendum, but that it was felt better to delay this ordeal till the soldiers had returned. Certain Conservative members attempted to get compensation for the hotel keepers, but those doughty twin brethren, Sir William Hearst and Mr. Rowell, presented a united front to their demands, and the Bill was passed almost unanimously. It was agreed that it come into force on September 16th, 1917, and that a referendum on the subject

of its permanence take place on or about the first Monday in June, 1919. In the last (1919) session of the House, the Government have announced that the referendum will be taken this fall, when the people of Ontario will be asked to answer the following questions :

1. Are you in favor of the repeal of the Ontario Temperance Act ?
2. Are you in favor of the sale of light beer, containing not more than 2.51 per cent alcohol, weight measure, through Government agencies, and amendments to the Ontario Temperance Act to permit such sale ?
3. Are you in favor of the sale of light beer containing not more than 2.51 per cent alcohol, weight measure, in standard hotels in local municipalities that by majority vote favor such sale, and amendments to the Ontario Temperance Act to permit such sale ?
4. Are you in favor of the sale of spirituous and malt liquors through Government agencies, and amendments to the Ontario Temperance Act to permit such sale ?

It should also be noted that special permission for the manufacture and sale of native wine in Ontario has been carefully reserved.

Quebec is not always prone to follow in the footsteps of Ontario. In the matter of prohibition she followed her very slowly and gingerly along the path of righteousness, but grew tired of the dullness of the road, and has now blithely retraced her steps to a regime which is very far removed from prohibition.

Under the terms of the Licensing Act of 1916 liquor licenses in Quebec were enormously reduced and strict regulations were enacted. No liquor could be sold to any one under 21 years of age or to soldiers or sailors in uniform, and hours of sale were fixed at from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., with 7 p.m. as the Saturday closing hour. Meanwhile all the other provinces had passed complete prohibitory laws. There was a general election in the province in 1916 at which the Gouin Government practically wiped out its opponents in the province. In the session of 1917 the matter was left in abeyance, but by the opening of the legislative session of 1918 the example of the other provinces and the pressure of public opinion became so strong that the Government, especially in view of the criticism of Quebec on the conscription issue, was compelled to take some action. A prohibition law was therefore passed decreeing that on May 1st, 1919, the province of Quebec should go dry, at least for the duration of the war. The war, however, ended before the day of doom arrived, and Sir L. Gouin felt that there must be some reconsideration of the situation. He consulted with his henchmen and satellites and made an announcement to the effect that a complete prohibition measure seemed inadvisable without ratification by popular

vote, and therefore there would be submitted to the people a referendum on the question whether the retail sale of wine and beer and the use of spirits under stiff restrictions were to be permitted to continue. This referendum took place in April and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the "wets." As a result the sale of wine and beer will be freely allowed in a specified number of hotels and restaurants in the province, and licenses for their wholesale distribution have been issued to a number of firms. Government stores for the sale of spirits have been established at various points in the province, and it is not expected that the inhabitants of Quebec will henceforth be unduly circumscribed in their opportunities for the consumption of liquor.

Such is the brief summary of provincial legislation to date on the subject of the liquor traffic, but the provinces had no control over the manufacture and importation of liquor and it was at once realized that without assistance from the Federal Government the prohibition Acts of the province would be largely nullified. In the session of 1917 what was known as the Doherty Act was passed by the Ottawa Parliament. It was a somewhat non-committal measure, but it gave the provincial legislatures full authority to carry into effect such liquor legislation as

each deemed advisable, and removed the possibility of any Federal veto. There had already grown up an enormous inter-provincial traffic in liquor which was profitable to the vendors, express companies and the railways, and contained in itself many deplorable evils. Villages on the frontier lines of provinces attained an amazing commercial importance, and the express traffic from them drove the station agents crazy. Liquor dealers, who had secured locations at strategic points, like Kenora and Virden, made, with the direct help of the temperance laws, profits beyond their wildest dreams. Meanwhile pressure was being brought to bear by the Rev. Ben Spence and his cohorts upon the Federal Government to save the situation. In November, 1917, the Dominion Government passed an order in council forbidding the use of food stuffs in the distillation of liquors. In the same month the quantity of malt manufactured and the quantity of barley used in its manufacture were both limited in the interests of food conservation. Then in December, 1917 and 1918, orders-in-council prohibiting the importation of any form of intoxicating liquor into the Dominion were passed. But the temperance people were not content with these restrictions, and kept pushing the agitation for complete Federal

prohibition. It has been asserted that Mr. Rowell, the Paladin of the anti-liquor hosts, made the promise of a Federal prohibition measure a condition of his entrance to Union Government, but it is merely a suspicion, and in any event the temper of the country and the crisis of the war situation were sufficient warrant for such a measure. Accordingly in March, 1918, doom, dire and sudden, fell upon the prosperous inter-provincial traffic in the shape of an order-in-council which not only ended the traffic but also absolutely forbade the manufacture of intoxicating liquor in any province of the Dominion. The order-in-council was only a temporary measure, and a Bill was brought down this session to validate it for the duration of the war and for one year thereafter, subject to certain exceptions. The effect of the amendments were that if any province shall decide by a vote of its people to permit the sale within that province of any class of alcoholic liquors, then automatically the manufacture and transportation of such liquor was permitted within that province. In short, there was to be no Federal interference with the liquor laws which Quebec has now adopted, and if Ontario or any other province, when the time came, should vote in favour of a limited sale of alcohol, its manufacture might

be resumed at once. The Bill thus ratified the reservation made by Ontario which permits the manufacture of native wine in Ontario. Mr. Hume Cronyn, M.P. of London, Ontario, pointed out the absurdity of permitting in Ontario the manufacture of wine to the extent of 50% proof spirits and forbidding the manufacture of beer containing on an average a 6% alcoholic content, but his amendment to allow the manufacture of beer for export in all provinces was negatived.

The measure received a mixed welcome from the temperance party throughout the country. The Dominion Prohibition Committee gave it their full approval, but other bodies like the Dominion Alliance criticized it severely on the ground that it was not a permanent measure and failed to enact any control over the wayward provinces. The Pioneer, the official organ of the prohibitionist party, wrote editorially of the bill in these terms :

"The proposal to relax the Dominion regulations in regard to the manufacture of liquor is damaging to the influence of temperance and pleasing to those who are in sympathy with the traffic. It is the best news that the enemies of temperance reform have had for at least five years. It is significant

that concurrent with the announcement that such a Government concession was in contemplation, brewery stock in Montreal soared to an unprecedented height."

But their blessings and criticisms were destined to be of no account. The Senate pounced upon the bill with a savage ferocity unbecoming to their years ; they took from it all strength and savour in temperance eyes by an amendment, which limited the operation of the federal prohibition measures to the duration of the war—not a day longer. They did not sentence the bill to destruction, but planned for a very brief life of usefulness. Not that the measure lacked defenders in the Senate ; the Quebec members for the most part heartily favoured it, possibly because it strengthened the excellent strategical position of their province to profit by its recent backsliding. The debate was a regular field day and many good speeches were made on both sides, but victory perched upon the banners of the "wets."

What motive moved the senatorial majority is obscure. Their leader, Sir James Lougheed, who, however, on this occasion headed the minority, has declared that if the Senate stands for anything, it stands for the rights of vested interests against the caprice and clamor of the mob. But it would be

unfair to class the Dominion Alliance and its sober-minded hosts as a capricious and clamorous mob. 'Tis also said that the liquor interests have maintained for months a posse of agents in the lobbies of Parliament, equipped with seductive arguments and deep purses and much given to hospitality! Another theory is that many of the veterans in the Upper House—perhaps the ringboned and spavined derelicts of politics, as one rural orator addicted to veterinary metaphors was wont to describe them—suffer from ailments and diseases for which they believe good liquor is the only reliable cure; since prohibition came, they aver, the mortality in their ranks has been high. However, the Senate, with as brave a gesture as the House of Lords when faced with Mr. Lloyd George's Budget in 1909, set at naught the will of the elected representatives of the Canadian people. Back went the mutilated bill to the Commons, and Sir Robert Borden moved that the enervating amendments be disagreed. The majority for his view was 105 to 34, the minority consisting of thirty French-Canadian and four English-speaking members. But it is rumoured that on the previous night more than one gathering of honourable members, destined on the morrow to record their vote for the policies of Mr. Rowell, fore-

gathered to drink libations to the wisdom of the Senate and its steadfastness for its amendments. The next move was with the Senate, and once more the battle was joined, but the sole result was to reduce the "wet" majority from 12 to 8. Thereupon, following the practice in disagreements, each house appointed what are called "managers" to attend a conference and attempt to reach some compromise. The representatives of the Senate were willing to extend the time limit to November 11th, one year from the signing of the armistice, but the delegates of the Commons stood out for March 31st, 1920, as a minimum. But the Senate majority was firm as the Rock of Ages against further concessions, and the bill therefore fell to the ground. Simultaneously brewery stock rose additional points on the market, and there was no great depression visible in Governmental circles.

The result is that Federal prohibition may soon cease to operate. There is some dispute as to whether the prohibition order-in-council does not hold good for a year after peace, but Sir Allan Aylesworth thinks not. If the Government accept his view, the manufacture and import of intoxicants as well as the extensive and profitable interprovincial traffic is free to be resumed in all its glory. It is true that

the local sale will be forbidden in most provinces, but each individual can import from outside sources as much as he has the money or inclination to buy. Such a state of affairs cannot by any stretch of the imagination be described as prohibition, and it is not to be expected that our powerful and aggressive temperance party will accept this decision as final. Meanwhile, the Government gets credit for wondrous zeal in the cause of temperance and escapes the odium of unpopularity with the element which believes with Burns that "freedom and whiskey gang thegither." As for the misguided Senate, all the unkind things which have been said about it in the past by rude Grain Growers' Associations and Labour bodies, are as the cooing of turtle doves compared with what the temperance orators and W.C.T.U. chieftainesses now say concerning it. In their eyes the wages of such political sin is political death and the forthcoming Liberal convention will doubtless not be backward in responding to this sentiment in its programme.

There is, as always after a heavy engagement, a lull on the liquor front. But another great battle is impending over the forthcoming referendum in Ontario. The actual date has not been fixed but the lists are in process of preparation and both sides are

marshalling their storm troops and reserves. There is every prospect of a pretty contest whose result cannot fail to affect in a decisive way the future attitude of the other province and the permanent policy of the Federal Government. The latter aspires at heart to have no liquor policy at all, and will probably move, if the constitution permits, in the direction of endowing the provinces with complete sovereign rights over their liquor traffic. In short, a policy of provincial option seems the solution which has most promise of general acceptance.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN BRITAIN

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The earliest legislation in British countries dealing with the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks was put into effect when ale was regarded as an article of diet, and when the efforts alike of Governments and local authorities were chiefly concerned in ensuring, first, an adequate supply, secondly, good quality, and thirdly, reasonable prices. The earliest British licensing statute which can be traced is that of II., Henry the Second, Chapter 2 (A.D. 1495), which empowered two Justices of the Peace "to reject and to allow of every way common ale selling in towns and places where they should think convenient, and to take sureties of keepers of ale houses in their good behaviour." In 1552 a statute of Edward I., confirmed the power of suppressing ale houses and decreed that the authority of two Justices must be obtained to keep an ale house. Rules were laid down for the conduct of the house, and Justices were empowered to inflict penalties for breaches of these rules and for the keeping of unlicensed ale houses. The general principle was that the sale of intoxicants was neither

unlawful nor harmful, but that an effective check upon the methods of the trade was desirable in the interests of the community. In 1643 the Parliament of the Revolution, to obtain revenue, imposed duties on ale and beer, which were substantially increased from time to time, the tax being 2s. 6d. in 1650, and rising to 5s. in 1692. The effect of these taxes was to transfer the allegiance of liquor lovers from ale and beer to spirits ; there was a protectionist design in them to encourage native industry. The same Revolutionary Parliament totally prohibited the importation of brandy and legalized the distillation and sale of spirits made from English grain on the payment of small duties. Heretofore there had been but few distilleries in Britain, and French or Dutch brandy was too dear for the average citizen. But the distilleries now rapidly increased in number as the people acquired a passion for English gin. The production of spirits in England rose from 527 gallons in 1684 to 7,160 gallons in 1742. It soon became apparent that great evils were arising from the sale of gin. Excessive gin drinking became an almost universal practice. In 1736 the magistrates of Middlesex sent to Parliament a petition in which they said "that the drinking of Geneva and other distilled waters had for some years past

greatly increased, that the constant and excessive use thereof had destroyed thousands of His Majesty's subjects, and that great numbers of others were by its use rendered unfit for useful labour, debauched in morals and drawn into all manner of vice and wickedness." The result of this was that the famous Prohibition Act known as the Gin Act was passed. The measure was devised to suppress entirely the sale of spirits in small quantities. In addition to the duties payable by distillers, 20s. a gallon was levied on retailers and all vendors of spirits in small quantities had to take out an annual license of £50. The Act was a clear example of legislation directed to forcing people not only into paths of sobriety, but to moral and virtuous conduct by Act of Parliament and the results have been thus described in Dr. Shadwell's book, "Drink, Temperance and Legislation." "The first result was an apparent decrease of consumption, but that lasted a very short time, and it soon became clear that the Act was much worse than a failure. Illicit trade sprang up, and greatly augmented the evil. Although 12,000 persons were punished for infringing the law in two years, it flourished, notwithstanding, beyond all power of control. Distillers took out wine licenses and sold a concoction of gin, sugar and spice as wine,

just as they do to-day in Norway and Sweden. Druggists put up gin in physic-bottles, and called it 'Cholic water,' or 'Gripe water,' with the direction, 'Take two or three spoonful of this four or five times a day, or as often as the fit takes you.' Gin was sold in the taverns under another name. In short, the repressive Act gave a great stimulus to the traffic. The consumption in England and Wales rose from 11,000,000 gallons in 1733 to nearly 20,000,000 in 1742, and there is not the slightest doubt that a most shocking state of things prevailed."

The Gin Act having proved a futile measure, a new Act was passed in 1743 which reduced the retail licenses from £50 to 20s and wiped out the duty of 20s. a gallon. The trade as a result was brought within the means of any one who could scrape together 20s. to pay for a license, and conditions soon became worse than ever. The novelist, Fielding, declared in 1751 that gin was "the principal sustenance, if so it may be called, of more than one thousand people in the Metropolis, and that the scenes and incidents occurring there were unworthy of a civilized country." In that year a fresh legislative measure enacted first, that debts for drinking were not recoverable by law, and secondly, that distilleries must not sell either retail or

to unlicensed publicans. The ameliorative effect was noticeable at once. Gradually a system of reasonable control of public houses was acquired, and with a change of public taste and the recovery by ale and beer of their old position in the popular affections, conditions began to improve. In 1828 there was passed an ale-house law which codified all previous statutes and became the basis for the future licensing laws in Great Britain. There had always been a considerable party in favour of "free trade" in ale and ale houses under the idea that free trade in beer would check the consumption of spirits. The Beer Bill of 1830 authorized any householder paying rates to sell beer, but no other intoxicating drinks, by retail, without obtaining a license from the Justices, and free from any control, on payment of two guineas to the Excise. The immediate result was that beer houses were opened in an alarming number. At the end of the first year more than twenty thousand people had paid the two guineas fee and obtained a beer license. Many of these establishments were in cellars or other places absolutely unsuited for the purpose, and the conditions of the trade soon became disgraceful and alarming in their results. In 1840 another Beer Act was passed which provided that no licenses should be given to anybody

save a real resident and occupier of the house to be licensed and that such house must have a rateable value of £15, £11, or £8, according to the number of the population. Total Sunday closing was provided for Scotland, but this gave rise to so much illicit drinking that an amending Act was passed in 1862. Grocers' licenses for the sale of liquor came into existence under the Wine and Refreshment House Act of 1860, but the great change in the system was inaugurated in 1869 by the first Wine and Beer House Act. It decreed that no license or renewal of a license for the retail sale of beer, wine or cider should be allowed by the Excise, except upon a certificate granted by the Justices at the general annual licensing sessions established in 1828, but the Justices could only refuse a certificate for a license on the following grounds :

(1) Failure of applicant to produce satisfactory evidence of good character.

(2) House in question disorderly or frequented by bad characters.

(3) Previous forfeiture.

(4) Applicant of house not duly qualified by law.

As far as the granting of new licenses was concerned, absolute discretion was given. The policy of reasonable control was further developed by the Licensing Act of 1872,

which laid down extended regulations. The forms and conditions of licenses were improved. A six day license was introduced. To promote the better management of public houses and punish drunkenness, landlords were empowered to exclude drunkards and disorderly persons; repeated breaches of the law entailed forfeiture of licenses and the hours of closing were altered. Further Acts followed, one in 1882 giving the Justices full discretion over all licenses, another in 1885 defining beer for Inland Revenue purposes as any liquor which is made or sold as a description of beer containing more than 2% alcohol.

In their Newcastle programme formulated in 1892 the Liberal party, led by Mr. Gladstone, adopted a plan of Local Veto, or as it would be called on this side of the Atlantic, Local Option, as part of their policy. Sir William Harcourt introduced a Local Veto Bill in 1894, but it was abandoned after securing a small majority in the Commons. As a result, at the election of 1896 the liquor interests took alarm and cast all their influence on the Conservative side and the disastrous defeat which they materially helped to inflict upon the Liberals, cooled the ardour of that party for temperance measures for many years.

In 1904 the Unionist Government of Mr.

Balfour brought in a Licensing Act which, while attempting some reduction of licenses and other reforms, allowed extravagant compensation for cancellations and had obviously been drafted in the interests of the liquor trade. It aroused great opposition from the temperance party, and Liberals in general, but was eventually passed. In 1908, after the Liberals had attained to office, they in their turn introduced another Licensing Bill which was a genuine attempt at reform of the liquor trade. But it was fiercely resisted by the liquor interests, and at their bidding the House of Lords, where the "beverage," as "Truth" was wont to call ennobled brewers and distillers, is always strongly represented, rejected it. Mindful of their experiences in 1895, the Liberals did not dare to appeal to the country on the Licensing Bill, but proceeded first to deal with the wider issue of the Veto of the House of Lords, in the expectation that once it was abolished they would again attempt to deal with liquor reform. But other events were to intervene and destroy this project. However, they managed before the war came to pass a special Act for Scotland which established a system of Local Option for that country to come into effect in 1920.

The drink question, which had been

allowed to lapse for a year or two before the war, emerged in Great Britain in a new form in 1914. National unity was the supreme need, and because no problem has excited in the past such ferocious controversy in Great Britain as the settlement of the liquor question, Parliament would probably have preferred to ignore it for the duration of the war. Attempts to reform the liquor traffic have destroyed at least one British Government, and the prohibition idea has never made much headway against the long standing social habits and customs of the British people. But it was speedily realized that the drink question was closely bound up with the national war effort. On April 29th, 1915, Mr. Lloyd George introduced the Government's double plan to check by heavy taxes the consumption of liquor, and to control the liquor trade in naval, military and munition areas. The naval and military authorities had assumed almost from the start special emergency powers for the drink trade, and the licensing justices were entrusted with new responsibilities for the same purpose. In 1915 the Government decided on a plan of liquor control and put it in force for the greater part of the country, under the supervision of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic), to which were appointed first-rate

men of diverse views and parties. But this did not satisfy a large element of reformers and patriots. One group pressed for total prohibition for the period of the war and demobilization, and another strenuously demanded the purchase by the State of the whole liquor trade to give the nation complete control.

In 1916 the Government took the further step of seriously restricting the manufacture of beer and the release of wine and spirits, and the liquor trade diminished. The reasons for this step of precaution can be found under two heads, efficiency and economy. As the desperate nature of the struggle became visible, the need for greater national efficiency became abundantly clear. Loss of efficiency at home meant loss of life abroad and anything that lessened efficiency impaired the power of the workmen and the fighters. Drink lessened the output of munitions, blocked the transit of troops and stores, and was inimical to discipline in the camps. It was established by investigation that drink was one of the main causes of inefficiency in the workshops. Second only to the need of efficiency was the problem of economy. Victory could only be won by conservation of Great Britain's money power and it became an urgent necessity to cut down all super-

fluous expenditures. "Now one of the things we cannot afford," said Mr. Lloyd George in 1915, "is a drink bill of one hundred and sixty million pounds." The higher wages which were freely granted in every trade increased the spending power among the wage-earners and there was greater expenditure on intoxicating liquors in the third year of the war. The food problem became very serious owing to the operations of the German submarines, Great Britain being at one time in acute peril of famine. The food controller, having carefully investigated the national food resources decided that the materials used in the production must be sternly restricted, therefore in Jan. 1917, the annual output of beer was cut to 18,200,000 barrels, half the pre-war amount. In 1918-1919 only 12,600,000 barrels were allowed to be brewed. The quantity of spirits released from bond was also enormously reduced. It had become a question, in the words of Lord Devonport, "of bread versus beer." Later came a plan of general control which was devised to increase efficiency. Hours of sale were cut down to a minimum, the strength of liquor was materially decreased and treating was strictly prohibited. Limitation of the liquor output was a temporary device for the war, but the regulations of the liquor traffic by the Control Board

may well be continued as a permanent institution, and its results are worthy of careful examination. The temperance party need not claim any particular credit for the anti-liquor restrictions. They were put in force in response to an overwhelming public demand and strong Conservatives like the editor of the "Spectator" were the foremost in their pleadings for complete prohibition. But the Government could not see its way either to complete prohibition or universal State purchase.

Eventually it did undertake an experiment in purchase on a fairly extensive scale. Gretna was a small village lying just over the Scottish border which had become famed in romance as the scene of many runaway marriages. In 1915 it was chosen as the site of a huge national munitions factory, and what had previously been a peaceful rural village became a throbbing hive of industry. Thousands of people flocked to the neighbourhood, at first for the task of constructing the plant and building houses around it, and then to work in the munitions plant. The housing problem presented considerable difficulties, but was eventually solved by the erection of large numbers of houses under good town planning schemes; the inrush of workers, however, soon developed a liquor

problem. Carlisle, the nearest large town, is a place of thirty-five thousand inhabitants. Now Carlisle, in addition to a huge increase of residents, found itself faced with crowds of workers coming in every direction from the surrounding towns and villages for food, recreation and drink. A drink restriction order was at once applied to the western border area on November 22nd, 1915, and complete Sunday closing was enforced, but disgraceful scenes characterized Carlisle and the surrounding towns every night as the influx of labour grew in volume. For a time the neighbourhood was given over to drunkenness. In the six months from January to June, 1915, there was 72 convictions for drunkenness, and in the same period during 1916 there were 564.

Something had to be done to check the plague of insobriety for national reasons. Accordingly the Liquor Control Board decided that the best available road to assume control was through State purchase. Beginning in a small way the State Purchase area was gradually extended till it included territory on both sides of the Solway Firth, about five hundred square miles in extent, with a war time population numbering almost one hundred and fifty thousand. In Carlisle alone four breweries and one hundred and

twenty licensed houses were taken over. The process of transfer went on steadily, and with the end of October, 1916, all the public houses were in possession of the Board. For administration purposes the area was divided into two districts, one for each side of the border, owing to the differences in the Scotch and English licensing laws. Each district was under the control of a general manager, who acted under the direction of the Central Liquor Control Board, and to assist him an advisory committee was formed consisting of representatives nominated by the local Council, municipal and licensing authorities, people of local knowledge and influence, and members of the Central Control Board. It was soon recognized that merely to acquire public houses and breweries was no panacea. Purchase was not regarded as an end in itself, but as an opening of avenues for the forming of plans necessary to repress intemperance, to promote sobriety, restore public order and advance social well-being. In no way were financial considerations regarded. The whole scheme was planned to secure efficiency as its supreme object. Over and above the normal restrictions of the Board which were applicable to the whole country, the following special restraints were placed on the liquor traffic throughout the State Purchase area :

1. Redundant and undesirable licenses were suppressed ; this included the suppression of all "grocers' " licenses.

2. Further restrictions were placed on the sale of spirits, viz :

(1) Total prohibition of the sale of spirits in houses near the National Factory.

(2) Institution of the "spiritless Saturday."

(3) Reduction of the number of houses selling spirits for "off" consumption.

(4) Mixed drinking—i.e., the custom of drinking beer and spirits mixed—was checked.

3. The "on" sale of liquor to young persons under eighteen was forbidden, excepting the sale of beer served with a meal.

4. The display of liquor advertisements on the fronts of licensed premises ceased.

5. Complete Sunday closing was extended with each extension of the State Purchase area in Cumberland.

Before the Board came on the scene there were in the State Purchase Area four breweries, *195 "on" licenses and 20 "off" licenses. By the end of August 84 licenses had been suppressed as unnecessary or undesirable. All grocers' licenses were abolished and mixed

* "On" licenses permit the sale of liquor for consumption on the spot. "Off" licenses cater for customers who carry it away.

trades in groceries and intoxicants came to an end. Two of the four Carlisle breweries also discontinued their activities. In Carlisle itself the sale of spirits was only permitted in eighteen houses. Among a certain class of customers in this neighbourhood it had been the habit to order a glass of spirits and a pint of beer served at the same time. This mixing was accredited with much drunkenness and the Board gave instructions that no person who called for spirits and beer at the same time should be served. Such were the restrictive policies of the Central Control Board, but they were accompanied by constructive measures. It was decided to make provision for the sale of food for which there was ample justification by reason of the extension of facilities for the supply of meals. It is notorious that alcoholic liquor taken with food is less noxious than when taken alone ; the old cafes and restaurants were inadequate to the situation and the average public house was merely a dram shop. Another kind of reform was needed to meet the new conditions.

The Board's first step was to reconstruct the old city Post Office, which became the Gretna tavern. It was in the centre of the city, near the railway station. In it there was now put a bar where beer and wine were sold, but no spirits, and there was also a

restaurant capable of seating one hundred and eighty people. Meals were served from 7.30 a.m. to 9 p.m., and liquor was obtainable from 12 to 2.30 p.m. and from 6 to 9 p.m. For the period ending June 31st, 1917, 66% of the total takings were for food and non-alcoholic refreshments. Several other inns in the neighbourhood were reconstructed and equipped with facilities for amusement, such as bowling greens, billiard rooms and cinema halls. In each there was a large rotunda where the workers could sit and play games or consume refreshments of various sorts.

Such were the plans adopted to make successful the experiment of State Purchase and direct control, and it is possible now to sum up some of its results. The main advantages of the system were :

1. Freedom to suppress promptly and permanently all redundant and undesirable licenses.

2. The limitation of private interest in the sale of liquor. In the Carlisle area, each manager of licensed premises earned a fixed salary and was not dependent for his livelihood on the amount of liquor sold. He had, therefore, no inducement to force sales or encourage drunkenness.

3. A closer regard for the law. It became the interest of each manager to be careful in

observance of the law, for his present salary and chance of promotion were bound up with obedience to the orders of a public authority, given in the public interest.

4. Economies in the business management. Great economies were effected annually as superfluous licenses were abolished, but there was a further benefit in concentration of sources of supply by the reduction of the number of houses.

5. A free hand was secured to effect reform suitable to local requirements. After the purchase the Board had only the public interest in the maintenance of the sale of drink which could oppose desirable action. A wider measure of public support could be secured to enforce observance of the law.

6. The association of local progressive opinion with the control of the drink trade. The mere fact that the State assumes direct responsibility for the control of the traffic inevitably produces keener criticism and demands for a higher standard. The whole locality becomes actively interested in the problem of eradicating drunkenness, and this interest itself constitutes a long step towards the removal of reproach.

7. There was an enormous decline in the convictions for drunkenness.

It is not possible to give more than this

rough sketch of what has been accomplished by way of experiment in control of the liquor trade in Great Britain, but many definite examples of the advantages of home life, child welfare, public health and social order resulting from the new policies could easily be given. They lead, moreover, to one conclusion, that the plan of control devised to aid efficiency, enhanced social welfare in undesigned but definite and profitable ways. Its connection with the tremendous task of social reconstruction which Great Britain has now to face was happily indicated in a speech by Mr. Walter Runciman in the House of Commons on February 14th, 1917, in which he said :

"What is very remarkable is that in those districts where the Liquor Control Board have exercised the largest amount of control, there are great masses of the people most directly affected, the artisan class, who declare that they do not wish to go back to the old state of things. Again and again that has come to our knowledge, and it has come from many quarters which were entirely unexpected—from men who were not teetotallers, and who rather dislike the demeanour of teetotallers, but who do not wish to have in their own streets and in their own quarters the same sort of squalor which used to be

found there three or four years ago, and who do not wish to have the hubbub and rows going on in their alleys and courts after midnight in London, or after eleven o'clock in the provinces, as went on before. Those people will not willingly go back to the old state of things. In considering our reconstruction problems we shall be well advised to get to know from those quarters what are the views of the people who live there, before we decide to dispense with some of the benefits that have accrued from the operations of the Liquor Control Board."

Many of the war liquor restrictions in Britain have already been relaxed in face of the protests of prominent men and women, but others are maintained, and the whole question must in the near future be settled on a decent basis which will eliminate the notorious evils of the past.

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CHAPTER IX.

OVER THE BORDER

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OVER THE BORDER.

It has been shown in an earlier chapter how the temperance movement of modern times had its origin in the United States in the earlier years of last century. Although the first active temperance society was founded in New York State, the classic home of prohibition in the United States is the State of Maine. The career of Neal Dow has already been referred to—under the influence of the temperance forces which he led, the first prohibition law of the North American continent was passed in Maine in 1846. It was a complete failure in its objects owing to the absence of adequate penalties and was repealed in 1856, but it was reinstated in a stronger form in 1858; since that date a prohibitory law has remained uninterruptedly on the statute books of Maine, and has resisted numerous attempts for its repeal, though what is politely known as nullification was practised freely and successfully. In 1884 prohibition was made part of the State constitution. In the last two decades of the 19th century the secret manufacture of liquor totally ceased and open sales disappeared,

but the traffic survived, proscribed and hunted like the Roman Church in Elizabethan England, and the degree of the enforcement of the law varied with the honesty and sympathy of the State officials. But with the beginning of the 20th century, the politics of Maine underwent a change for the better and the law began to be administered with strictness and success. One effect of the prohibition law was to put Maine "on the map" as never before. The State became the subject of constant investigation and enquiry, of hope among temperance reformers and anxiety among brewers. Travellers came from the ends of the earth to view the results of prohibition on the spot and carried back reports to their own countries. The reports varied in an incredible manner, and there is a suspicion that, if the facts of the conditions in Maine did not agree with the preconceived ideas of the investigators, it was a black outlook for the facts. As Maine is the community with the longest experience of prohibition laws, it seems only right to pay special attention to the evidence available as to their efficacy within its borders.

Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, the great English authorities on the liquor traffic, paid particular attention to Maine in their book, "The Drink Problem and Social Reform."

Mr. Sherwell visited the State personally, but Mr. Rowntree contented himself with vicarious knowledge acquired through the investigations of his comrade-in-arms. Both these investigators were known as zealous friends of the temperance cause, and the conclusions reached in their book upon the situation in Maine were :

(a) That wines were freely served in the public dining-rooms of Portland hotels to guests who ordered them.

(b) That they were unable to discover one drug-store in which liquor was not openly sold.

(c) That the rural community freely supplied its alcoholic tastes with cider and had no need for other beverages.

They propounded the theory that more liquor was being consumed under prohibition in Portland than would be under a licensing system. However, critics of the book assert that Mr. Sherwell had as guide and cheerer during his tour a certain Tim Hartnett, who had close affiliations with brewery interests and was unlikely to present the best side of the prohibition case to his visitor. On the other hand, Hugh Price Hughes, the well-known English evangelist, wrote after a visit to Portland as follows : "As we went through the city, we felt it was one hundred years in advance of any we have ever seen in England ;

indeed, we scarcely dared to hope that a century hence our English towns will be as free from misery and poverty as Portland is to-day" Evidence is not available as to how long the Rev. Mr. Hughes stayed in Portland, and it is often unwise to put too much credence in the judgments of the car-window philosopher. A traveller, who stayed one day at the King Edward Hotel in Toronto, might come to the conclusion that there were no slums or poverty in that city.

The local champions of prohibition firmly maintain the truth of the following claims :

(1) That the alcoholism of pre-prohibition Maine was of a desperate nature.

(2) That in the generation succeeding the passage of the prohibitionary law, there was a general freedom from alcoholism throughout the State.

(3) That after the adoption of the prohibition law amendment to the 1884 constitution down to 1900, what had been relatively good enforcement had been succeeded by nullification.

(4) That the attitude of the Maine judiciary and political intrigue had facilitated nullification of the law.

(5) That since the opening of the century with the advent of a better political regime there has been a steady though interrupted

recovery and that in recent years the law has been well enforced with benefit to the community.

Every Governor of Maine for the last half century has borne testimony to the diminution of crime and other evils flowing from drink as well as to the material improvement under prohibition. Neal Dow himself was apparently satisfied with the results of the law which he had fathered, for in an article on the "Maine Law," in "The Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition," he wrote :

"Before the Prohibition era Maine was not only one of the most drunken but one of the poorest States of the Union. The evidences of poverty were seen everywhere—in neglected farms, dilapidated houses, decaying fences, and general unthrift. All is changed for the better. Maine ranks with the most prosperous commonwealths, saving yearly, as she does, probably \$20,000,000 (directly and indirectly) that would be squandered for drink if any system of license were tolerated."

As long as Maine was the solitary State in the Union which had adopted prohibition there were obvious difficulties in enforcing the law. The liquor interests in adjacent States like Massachusetts, who were anxious to prevent the infection of prohibition from spreading, exhausted every possible device

to defeat the Maine laws and discredit them as ineffective. Maine, by reason of having its congressional elections before the rest of the country, has been the scene of pitched political battles and the temperance question was a perpetual football between the parties.

Massachusetts adopted a prohibition system as far back as 1852, made several modifications, subsequently abolished it in 1867, and defeated a prohibition constitutional amendment by a majority of forty-six thousand. After a prolonged investigation by a public commission it reported that prohibition was conducive to intemperance, corruption and demoralization. New Hampshire enjoyed prohibition of sale, but not of manufacture from 1855 to 1883, and then abrogated it. Michigan adopted it from 1856 to 1875, and then cast it aside by a large majority. Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa and Rhode Island also tried the system and abandoned it, while attempts to introduce it were repudiated by Washington, Nebraska, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, and South Dakota. In North Carolina there was an attempt made to conduct the liquor trade under a state dispensary system, more or less on the analogy of the Gothenburg scheme. Kansas by a constitutional amendment in 1880 declared that

the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors "shall be for ever prohibited in this State except for medical, scientific and mechanical purposes," and this law survived all attempts to repeal it. But sceptics averred that judging from the amount of liquor consumed in Kansas, the whole State must have devoted its energies for a generation with undivided zeal to medical, scientific and mechanical pursuits. For years the prohibition and anti-prohibition parties used to publish tables of comparison between "wet" Nebraska and "dry" Kansas, which showed different results according to the side presenting them. Kansas had the glory of being dry from the eighties but Nebraska atoned for it last January by giving the deciding vote for the 18th amendment to the constitution. North Dakota also kept on the statutes a prohibition amendment passed in 1890, when first admitted to the Union as a State, but in 1907 only these two States and Oklahoma survived to keep Maine company in the prohibition column.

From that time onwards, however, there came a steady drift to the temperance party, and from the defensive they passed on to active offensives. From 1910 onwards State after State passed local prohibition measures, and even in the States where prohibition was not adopted by the legislature local option

areas increased in number. America's entrance to the war and the demand for national economy and conservation of food for the sake of the hard-pressed Allies increased the pressure against the liquor trade. First of all in 1917 the United States Congress, as a war measure, ended the distilling of whiskey, and on December 1st, 1918, the brewing of beer came to a summary end by presidential edict. Ten days previous to this the Food Stimulation Bill to which was tacked on the Sheppard amendment compelling the American nation to go dry for the demobilization period, from July 1st, 1919, was passed.

These however, were merely war measures, but the 18th amendment to the constitution of the United States which secured in January the adhesion of the 36th State, necessary to ensure ratification, is a more serious story. The important section of the 18th amendment reads as follows : "After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors or the importation thereof into or exportation thereof from the United States, and all territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited." One year from the date of ratification is January 16th, 1920, and thereafter the United States will be bone dry.

It is the culminating point of a campaign carried on steadily and scientifically for a quarter of a century. The concluding stages came like a deluge. The Congress, which began in 1917, adopted the Federal amendment for national prohibition, but it was not till 1918 that the movement really gathered force. By the end of 1918 30 States were already completely dry and 15 of these had approved of the amendment. The necessary three-fourths majority demands the approval of 36 States and, when the remainder began voting on it after the new year in 1919, there was an interesting contest for the honour of being 36th, which was secured by Nebraska. Of the remaining twelve, New Jersey alone faithfully clung to its liquor. Even California, which has a huge wine industry and a pleasure loving population addicted to liquid refreshment, elected a legislature which ratified the amendment. There is obviously for the moment an overwhelming majority in its favour and the prohibitionists declare that a national referendum on the question has no terrors for them. Yet it is not emotional temperance reformers who have induced America to go dry, but shrewd women and hard-headed business men, who believe that prohibition will lead to keener efficiency, improved health, greater safety on streets and

railways, empty prisons and increased prosperity. The attitude of America on the drink question can be gauged by the fact that in one of the most important and exclusive clubs in New York there has been a rule that no drinks can be served within ten feet of the window in the main room on the ground floor.

There are some interesting subjects of speculation in connection with this result. What influence brought it about? The prime motive force has undoubtedly been the Anti-Saloon League which began operations in 1885 with what was regarded as the visionary ideal of a dry America by 1920. From the little town of Westerville, Ohio, its captains have directed an amazing organization for public agitation and education and have utilized social pressure in the most elaborate manner. The card index and the adding machine have both been called upon to give their assistance. Rarely has there been so perfect an organization. The idealists of Westerville, Ohio, have earmarked and docketed for years all parties and sections of political parties, all commercial and professional interests, every institution, society and club. They have scanned and marked out the record of every senator and congressman, every state or municipal official, and every candidate for any public appointment.

The churches and their ministers have been carefully watched, and of late years no clergyman could dare to oppose the law. They have maintained cohorts of lobbyists in all legislative centres of the country whose skill and activities vie in efficacy with the most subtle satellites of "big business" And now that the battle has been won, this strange organization is to devote its energies to holding the ground that has been secured.

But the activities of the Anti-Saloon League could not have carried out this far-reaching and portentous revolution without external auxiliaries. There has come alliance and co-operation from many sources, such as the Public Health crusade and the modern doctor's attitude to alcohol, the agencies of child welfare, the presentation of the statistics of pauperism and crime and their sources by sociologists, the hostility to drinking by individual employers and great corporations like the Pennsylvania Railroad and the growth of the business efficiency movement which has been immensely stimulated the last few years by the army camp community services and the "fit to fight" appeals. The most important of these has been the efficiency plea. For the last ten years business in America has steadily frowned upon alcohol, and it is an accepted fact that the young man who wants

to get on in business cannot afford to drink. In these matters the Western communities have steadily set the pace. The South, too, aided and abetted the movement because it desired liquor to be kept away from the negroes. But there the cold fact remains that the prohibition movement which Neal Dow began in Maine in the forties and which has been a source of derision and jest ever since, has now gathered unto itself the whole of the American Republic. Already many American distilleries have been converted to other uses and the price of cork screws has gone down to three cents a piece.

The question of the practical enforcement of the law is still a matter of doubt and scepticism. The labour organizations want some relaxation and the immigrant communities dislike its strictness. Its opponents declare that great cities cannot be kept dry, that the systems of evasion which have been devised in the old prohibition areas, will become wide-spread and that fifty thousand inspectors will be required to enforce the law. But there are certain facts on the side of the prohibitionists. In the first place the American climate does not require for the individual the stimulation by alcohol which more humid regions in Western Europe seem to demand for certain temperaments. Europeans, who

come to live in the northern half of this continent, can soon accept the "water waggon" without any feeling of discontent. For some years the American public has by choice and habit been gradually moving towards total abstinence from alcohol and the country has really been steadily prepared for the late sweeping measure. Almost half of the younger generation of the United States have grown up in places where the saloon is unknown. There is throughout America comparatively little respect for State laws, but when a Federal law is passed upon a certain subject, it at once commands respect and obedience. There are some thirsty souls who predict that the 18th Constitutional Amendment will have a short life, but these optimists should remember firstly that as long as thirteen States stand out for its maintenance no return to the dear old days of wetness is possible, and secondly, that Women's Suffrage is soon due to become universal in the United States, and Frances Willard and Carrie Nation did not toil in vain.

President Wilson in his last message to Congress from Paris did suggest a modification of the war time prohibition measure, which comes in force on July 1st, to permit the sale of wine and beer. Naturally the very suggestion aroused a terrific outcry from

the temperance legions. So far from yielding to the President's suggestion the American Congress in July passed a Prohibition enforcement Bill, which sets up comparative severe penalties for violation of the "dry" law. The anti-prohibitionists in a non-party contest were completely defeated in their efforts to nullify the force of the Acts but the fanatics who wanted to make the use of alcohol a crime on a par with child murder were foiled. There now has arisen a controversy as to what strength of alcohol will be passed as non-intoxicating under the law and there will probably be prolonged litigation to test the matter out. Meanwhile beer, containing 2.75% alcohol is allowed to be sold and some hospitable medical men of investigating turn of mind, after special experiments on their friends at scientifically conducted banquets, declare that at least one gallon of 2.75% beer is required to produce intoxication in the normal adult male, an amount which is beyond the capacity of the average human stomach. The dry regime was ushered in with much revelry on July 1st but it is too early yet to form any opinion of its success. But it is there to stay, for the 18th Amendment, which stands above and beyond the power of Presidents and Congresses to set aside will roll relentlessly into effect in the early days of 1920.

CHAPTER X.
THE GOTHENBURG
SYSTEM.

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The Gothenburg System has its origin in the town of that name in Sweden. In that country before 1855 the manufacture and sale of spirits was practically free, every farmer was his own distiller, the main beverage being "branvin"—a coarse description of spirit distilled from potatoes or corn or a mixture of both. In 1830 the number of stills in the country had reached the almost incredible number of 173,124. In 1855 a law was enacted forbidding distillation of spirits by any unlicensed distiller and barring licenses to any one who had not the capacity to distil a certain minimum. Licensed distillers and the wholesale trade came under excise supervision and taxation. The result was that in 1855 the number of distillers fell to 3,481 and in 1876 to 410. The price of branvin rose from 25 cents a gallon to \$1.20 in the latter year. Within five years the percentage of arrests for drunkenness fell 50%. In 1864 a committee was appointed in Gothenburg to enquire into the causes of pauperism. They recommended that the drink traffic be taken over by a company and managed for the

benefit of the community, a project which had been foreshadowed by the Act of 1855. In the following year the first "Bolag" or company was formed for this purpose. Bolag merely means company, but has now come to mean a licensed house of this public description. The Company started business with seventeen licenses and gradually increased their holdings till in 1876 they obtained control of the whole trade in spirits. The surplus profits, with the exception of 6% on the capital invested, are allocated thus : 7-10ths to the community, 2-10ths to the State, and 1-10th to the Provincial Agricultural Societies, as compensation for the loss of domestic distillation. But the Bolags have used every effort to employ their licenses to the public advantage, and there is no doubt but that the community has benefited in certain ways. They have effected a great reduction in the number of licenses. In 1865 there was one license to be used to every 2,293 inhabitants and in 1902 there was one to every 7,684 inhabitants. There are certain severe restrictions in their management. They must close at six o'clock in winter and seven o'clock in summer. Children and drunkards cannot be served with liquor. On the other hand they do not sell beer and have been found unable to conduct high-class businesses.

As a result, the restaurants and high-class bars have been sublet by them to private individuals who operate them under practically no restrictions. The Bolag system in Sweden controls the trade of over one hundred towns and villages.

A similar system was introduced into Norway in 1871, with the name of Samlag instead of Bolag as the title. In 1880 the Norwegian Samlags were empowered to acquire all licenses by equitable compensations. The principles of operation were practically the same, but in Norway the closing hour was 10 o'clock on week days and 5 o'clock on Saturdays. In Sweden the profits were given to the relief of the rates, but in Norway they were dedicated to philanthropic purposes. In Sweden the Companies aim at providing the workmen with comfortable places for meals and all the attractions of a good café. In Norway, intoxicating liquors alone were sold in the Samlags and the aim was to make the dram shop as unalluring as possible. Licenses in both countries are granted by the magistrates, acting with the advice of the town council and governors. The salient feature of the system is the elimination of all private profit. The actual sellers of intoxicating liquor receive no profit from the sale, but they get an extra profit from the amount of tem-

perate refreshments and food sold. The capital of each Company is small and is usually distributed locally among shareholders who hold one share each. This system has now been in operation for fifty years, and there is great diversity of opinion as to its results. For the last two years, however, Norway has been under complete prohibition, and a plebiscite is to be taken on its continuance.

The advocates of the Gothenburg system maintain in its support :

(1) That it lessens the temptation to drink, decreases the consumption of strong spirituous liquors, and consequently drunkenness, pauperism and crime.

(2) That it benefits the community by diverting to public and charitable purposes the profits of the liquor-traffic, which would otherwise go to swell the private fortunes of liquor dealers.

(3) That it divorces the liquor traffic from politics.

(4) That the control of the traffic is better regulated and consequently becomes more respectable, and that no community which has once adopted the system, has abandoned it.

Against this bright picture of success the critics and opponents of the Gothenburg system advance the following drawbacks:

(1) That the distribution of the profits of

the liquor traffic to public institutions and for the diminution of taxation serve as a perpetual bribe to prevent prohibition.

(2) That far from taking the traffic out of politics, the system creates new methods whereby political deals can be made between friends of the traffic and institutions benefiting from its profits.

(3) That the increased respectability of the traffic arising from public officials, clergymen and substantial citizens acting as directors renders it all the more dangerous a barrier to total abstinence and prohibition, and

(4) That it has greatly stimulated the domestic consumption of alcoholic drinks.

In general the critics of the Gothenburg system claim that it is a most effective bar to prohibition and all temperance efforts, because it dulls both the public and private conscience to the evils of the liquor traffic and fastens its grip all the more firmly upon the community. They also claim that the diminished consumption of spirits in Sweden is due to the fact that practically all the rural districts which contain three-fourths of the population, are under prohibition by local option. Again, the policy of the Gothenburg system has been to encourage and give free scope to the traffic in beer and malt liquors, whose consumption has undeniably had an enormous increase in

recent years, taking the place of stronger spirits in the publicly owned saloons. The Gothenburg system was the object of careful study and enquiry by temperance reformers in other countries. Evidence as to its working was taken before a committee of the House of Lords in 1893, and British representatives in Scandinavia were asked to report upon its merits at intervals. Their reports were generally critical or hostile. In 1897 Mr. Franklin, British Vice-Consul at Bergen, wrote : "I beg the liberty of reiterating what I have previously written, that British legislators would be ill-advised if they attempted to introduce the Bolag system into Great Britain."

Yet, despite this warning, the Bolag system or adaptation thereof has been introduced into Britain within recent years. The first experiment was made by an English pastor, the Rev. Osbert Mordaunt, rector of Hampton Lucy in Warwickshire, who in 1877 found himself in possession of a village inn in his parish. He determined upon an experiment upon the general lines of the Gothenburg system, the main principles to be, first, the purity of the liquor sold and secondly, absence of profit to the person who sold the beer. He utterly abandoned the sale of spirits. His experience was that on account

of the liquor being pure and wholesome and therefore satisfactory, much less was consumed than formerly; drunkenness became comparatively rare, and was usually confined to cases where people came in from other places the worse of liquor and were served with more. The elimination of spirits in his opinion had not so much to do with the decrease in drunkenness as the fact that drinking was not encouraged, but Mr. Mordaunt testified before a Liquor Commission strongly in favour of the experiment and advocated its extension as widely as possible. In 1896 there came into existence the People's Refreshment House Association, Limited, under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Chester. Its object was to give wide facilities for the adoption of a system of public house management with limited profits on the Gothenburg system. The salient features were that the manager was paid a fixed salary and, while allowed no profit on the sale of alcoholic drinks, was given a special profit on the trade of food and non-alcoholics. Temperance drinks and light refreshments were made easily accessible at the bar. Great care was taken to supply absolutely pure liquor. The dividend on the one pound shares was fixed at 5%, after payment of which, and provision for a reserve fund, the

surplus profit was to be devoted to public utilities. The Association secured control of a variety of public houses all over the country. In 1900 the net profit on the capital of the Association which amounted to roughly £24,000, was 22%, which is evidence of the lucrative nature of the traffic, and of the large sums which could be available for public services when the system of private monopoly was abolished.

In 1900 the late Earl Grey, the most popular Governor-General that Canada ever knew, obtained a license in the colliery village of Broomhill in Northumberland, in which he was interested as part proprietor. He discovered that under the British license laws he had acquired without rendering any equivalent service therefor, a property which was valued prospectively at fifty thousand dollars. He had been attracted by the schemes of the Bishop of Chester and his associates, and decided to introduce them in the new hostelry. Accordingly the Grey Arms was run from its opening day on the lines of a refreshment house instead of a mere drinking bar. All the liquids supplied, whether alcoholic or otherwise, were of the best and most wholesome quality procurable and the manager was given special encouragement to promote non-alcoholic trade. All the profits arising from

the business were placed in the hands of trustees for public purposes connected with the locality. As the people of Canada well know, Earl Grey was a fervent missionary of any cause he made his own. His influence with his own class was enormous and he was soon engaged in an active propaganda for the extension of the idea. Under his auspices there was organized the Northumberland Public House Trust Company, Limited, which extended its operations to other parts of the county. Similar companies sprung up in Durham, North Yorkshire, Essex, Hampshire, Kent, Sussex, Northampton, Renfrewshire, and other counties, and in cities like Glasgow, Liverpool and Cardiff. All these public house trust companies are now coordinated under the Central Public House Trust Association of which Earl Grey was the first President. It maintains an office and secretary in London, and is actively engaged in extending the scope of its operations. The same method of organization is followed in practically all public house trust companies. Most of the capital is in ordinary shares of one pound each, which are not entitled to a dividend of more than 5%. In addition there are a few deferred shares which are allotted exclusively to the trustees and carry all the surplus profits. The governing body consists

of a Council and a Board of Directors. The Council is generally made up partly of members chosen by the directors in the first instance with power of co-optation as vacancies occur, and partly of others holding high public offices. All surplus profits are handed over to the council to be administered by them for public purposes. There is no doubt but that Earl Grey inaugurated one of the most useful public movements of his time and its rapid spread is an indication of its acceptance by the community. Experiments on similar lines have been conducted by the colliers of Hill of Beath and Kelty, two mining villages near Dunfermline in Scotland, with the co-operation of the Fife Coal Company, which owns the mines in that vicinity. In anticipation of the private liquor seller a public house was opened and placed under a manager, who had no interest in pushing sales of liquor. The experiment has been a great success, and large profits have been realized every year which have been devoted to public purposes, such as the provision of bowling greens and other agencies of recreation for the community. The majority of the directors of these Fife public houses are working miners.

The movement is completely non-political and has received the support of influential

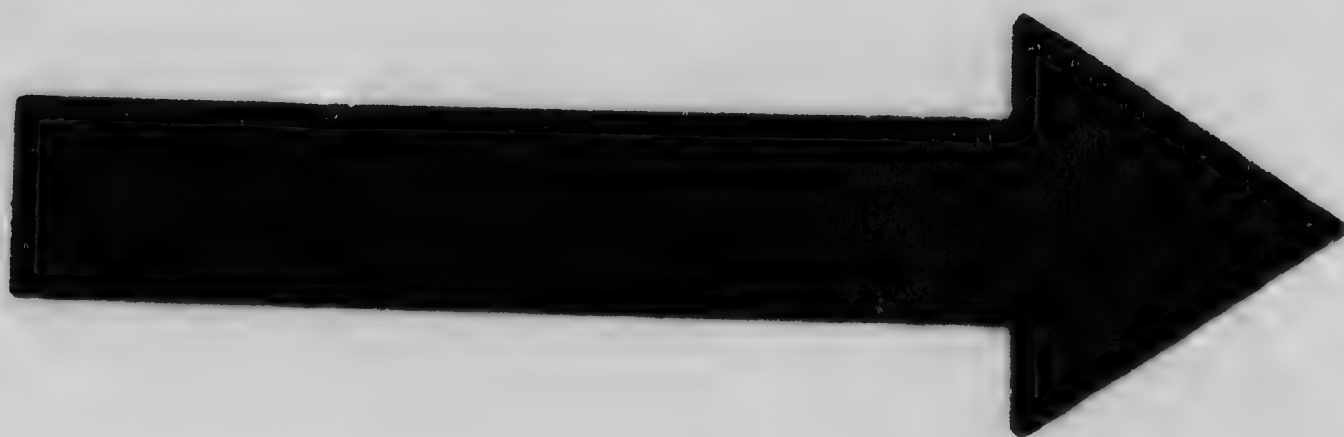
men of all parties. The promoters of the Public House Trust Movement in Great Britain take their stand upon one undeniable fact that whether schemes of prohibition are justifiable or not, practicable or impracticable, it must be realized that there is no immediate prospect of carrying them into effect in Great Britain. Public opinion is simply not prepared for a programme of prohibition or anything approaching it. It is easy to declaim against the influence of the brewers in affecting the decisions of the Parliament at Westminster, but the necessities of war would easily have overborne the power of the liquor interests if Mr. Lloyd George had felt that the working classes would accept complete prohibition. The promoters of the Public House Trust schemes have recognized for good or evil the drinking habits of the people of Great Britain, and they are endeavouring on a basis of actual facts to abolish or at least to modify the deplorable evils which national intemperance generates. The bigotry of extremists and the power of the vested interests have sufficed between them to put successful obstacles in the way of any real successful reform by Parliament. The sponsors of the Public House Trust Association are therefore endeavouring to put forward some efforts at mitigation within the scope of the

existing laws. The movement is rapidly extending and this spring they made an application to the public for further capital, which was heartily endorsed and commended by the leading English papers.

Inevitably the scheme has been strongly attacked by the temperance people. They hold that the utility of the movement is more doubtful than its popularity. They assert that a respectable and alluring establishment, where people learn drinking habits, will do quite as much harm to the public as the disreputable and comparatively unattractive dram shop into which only hardened toppers would like to be seen entering. They claim that all who bring the young and uncontaminated under the influence of the liquor trade, whatever may be the excellence of their motives, may do as great harm as those who deal with confirmed and hopeless drunkards. In fact they regard as abominable the efforts of the Public House Association to establish the liquor trade, which in their eyes is "a covenant with sin and death," on a sure and popular footing. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., was through his long parliamentary career the foremost champion of teetotalism in the British Parliament, and year after year introduced measures for the destruction of the liquor trade. When Lord Grey was intro-

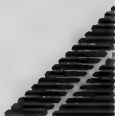
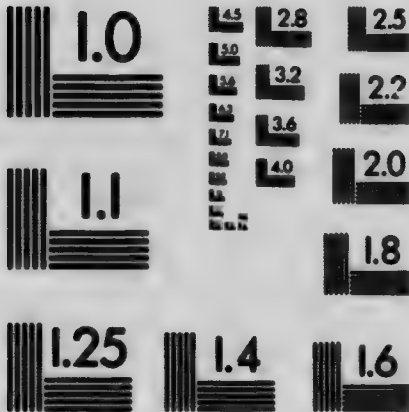
ducing his schemes for experiments on the Gothenburg model, there took place in the "Westminster Gazette" a most animated controversy between these two firm friends, which was closed by the following amusing poem :

When Grey and Lawson take to fighting,
And in the "Westminster" keep writing,
Some sparks of truth must surely fly
To guide the public by-and-by.
Now only think of that good nurse,
Paid from the bulging liquor purse,
And then that holy, happy scene,
The billiards and the bowling green,
Where miners, having had a pull,
Come on the grounds serenely full.
And as they come towards evening dim
You hear them softly hum the hymn,
"I have been there, and still would go ;
'Tis like a little heaven below.
Not all my pleasure and my play
Shall tempt me from those courts to stray,
'Twere better with the drink away."
"It must be there, though," says Lord Grey,
"Let men request and wives entreat
The Liquor License to defeat.
It must be granted," says Lord Grey,
"We're so intent to make it pay.
All kinds of benefits you'll get
If you will stick to 'heavy wet.'
For let it be well understood
Each glass is for the public good.
We have, you see, a Public Trust
The proper portion to adjust.



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One man three glasses may consume,
And walk sedately from the room.
Two for the most will be enough—
For is it not the 'best' of stuff ?
While here and there from out our store
A hero might be given four.
Five would, I think, be quite too much,
And put a fellow out of touch.
But when they thus are put to test
The 'Trust' is sure to know the best.
So down with Lawson's comments fusty,
Beyond a doubt the 'Trust' is trusty.
And Paradise regained," says Grey,
"Is only to be won this way."

The Gothenburg idea has received further impetus since the war began, from the liquor policies of the British Government which have been described in a previous chapter. On this continent North Carolina for years enjoyed a system of State dispensaries, which were on the Gothenburg model. It has only been followed in Canada by the province of Saskatchewan, whose Cabinet was impressed by the favourable report of a Provincial Liquor Commission on the North Carolina system. But the Saskatchewan dispensaries were swept into the limbo of discarded things by the temperance wave which washed out the whole liquor traffic in the West in the years 1915-16. Their banishment, however, may not be perpetual.

CHAPTER XI.

**THE FEMINIST
ATTITUDE.**

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THE FEMINIST ATTITUDE.

From its initiation women have been the chief pillars and supporters of the movement to secure prohibition, and it is safe to anticipate that they will prove themselves staunch bulwarks against its removal. The first Woman's Temperance Society dates nearly a century back, being founded in 1828 in the State of Ohio, which at a later date gave birth to the W.C.T.U. Its sponsors and founders took a heroic line and published the following manifesto : "We, the subscribers, having witnessed and heard of many cases of misery and ruin in consequence of the free use of ardent spirits and being desirous if possible to prevent so great evils, therefore resolve : (1) We will wholly abstain from the use of ardent spirits on all occasions except when prescribed by a temperate physician ; (2) We will discountenance all addresses by any of the male sex with a view to matrimony if they shall be found to drink ardent spirits either periodically or on any public occasion ; (3) We, as mothers, daughters and sisters will use our influence to prevent the connection of any of our friends with a man who shall

habitually drink any kind of ardent spirits." Unfortunately, there seems to be no reliable record of how far these stern resolves were carried into practice and what influence they had upon the life of the pioneers of Ohio.

The great majority of women, if the general feminist attitude expresses honest conviction, are without doubt in favour of prohibition. Women know that the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages is responsible for much crime, insanity and murder, and as these foes of domestic happiness must have an important bearing upon the personal as well as the national life, women have always been the most ardent supporters of every kind of temperance reform. The Women's Christian Temperance Union is a body of steadily increasing numerical force. Its fundamental principle is "Total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for the nation." There are of course not a few women who feel that no social affair, such as a dinner party, is quite complete without the serving of whatever alcoholic beverages happen to be fashionable, but it is doubtful if many of these would come out and vote against prohibition. There are also some who question the efficacy of its working in practice, but as a body they can be counted in the balance for it.

Women have other motives in favouring any measure which holds out the promise of removal of the temptation to drink. Even if their men folk are only moderate consumers of beer and spirits, nearly every woman has a lurking feeling that it is an extravagant indulgence. She argues that she does not spend anything like so much on candy, either for herself or for her children, and feels that the money for her husband's daily "nip" could be better expended, for it is only in Britain that the belief in beer as liquid bread is at all widespread. The question of alcohol possesses an even deeper and more important aspect for women than for men. Like most things which hit men hard, alcoholism hits women harder. The mental and physical suffering which habits of alcoholic intemperance on the part of her menfolk is liable to bring to a woman are only too apparent, but the effects upon the woman herself and upon society at large due to her indulgence in this vice are worse, because they are more far-reaching. It seems probable, to draw a general conclusion from the mass of evidence given in Chapter II., that alcohol taken in small quantities is no more injurious to the grown woman than it is to the adult man, but there are certain points to be considered which tend to modify this statement.

The reasons for the consumption of alcohol by men and women are somewhat different in their origin. Men take it in a social way for reasons of general comradeship or for its soothing and stimulating qualities when work is hard and worries are plentiful. Well-to-do women who indulge in liquor frequently have often taken it in the first place because they feel that it is a *la mode*, not because they like the flavour of the beverages or are in the beginning conscious of any real benefit from them. Many a "flapper" thinks it is the height of smartness to slip away from a dance to sip a *creme-de-menthe* with some gay *Pohemian*. This is what is aptly described as "luxury drinking." Women are more emotional and highly strung than men and under the stress of sorrow or anxiety, once they have come under the influence of the narcotic qualities of alcohol, they take to "misery drinking" more readily than men do.

There are certain periods in the life of every woman which find her predisposed to nervousness and depression of spirits. Child-bearing, for instance, is an arduous performance, and over-doses of it in the lives of the poor are apt to beget a kind of chronically neurotic state which discovers itself in a nagging wife and scolding mother. The woman finds a certain comfort in a glass of liquor,

which soon results in a continual dosing of the nervous system with alcohol ; this tends to weaken it and makes her hopelessly dependent upon daily beer or spirits. During child-bearing also, the various organs of the body are placed under a great strain and become in some measure debilitated. The liver and kidneys are particularly susceptible to degeneration. This is one of the few facts about which the medical world does not claim to be able to give specific reasons for the causation, but doctors are all agreed upon the melancholy truth, and in this condition of the physical body alcohol is not a suitable beverage any more than is strong tea. Yet some women are as given over to tea tippling as any are to alcohol.

All authorities are agreed that alcohol is infinitely injurious to growing children, as it affects the development of new cell life. This being the case, it stands to reason that alcohol should not be consumed by women during the child-bearing period, for it will affect the embryo and the nursing infant. If the alcohol taken is greatly in excess, the child is likely to be prematurely or still-born, and if it escapes this, statistics show that it can scarcely fail to be stunted both in physical stature and brain development. If alcohol in even moderate quantities is so often undesirable for women,

the results of their decided intemperance in this respect are indeed terrible. In a report published on Infant Mortality in Britain by Dr. George Newman in 1906, there is evidence adduced to show that out of 120 alcoholic female prisoners in Liverpool who between them had 600 children, more than 55% were either still-born or died during the first year of life. Of the children who survived the period of infancy, 12 to 15% were epileptic. Dr. Claye Shaw states in an article on "The Psychology of the Inebriate Mother," that at the Bicester Hospital, England, 41% of the idiot and imbecile children had drunken parents, and that the mother was more frequently the offender. Often a woman's first introduction to alcohol is for medicinal reasons. She takes it perhaps as a tonic in the form of one of the many attractive invalid stimulants advertised to relieve pain or fatigue, probably on her own initiative and occasionally on her doctor's recommendation. During 1918 in Quebec the Dominion W.C.T.U. sent out a questionnaire to about 400 doctors. Among the questions asked were : "Do you use alcoholic stimulants in your practice? Do you use beer or malt for the increase of lactation? Do you consider a bottle of whiskey or brandy a necessity to a mother's medicine cabinet?" The report of the society upon the replies

received to these queries states that the great majority of doctors answered them in the negative.

The world regards a drunken woman with more intolerance than a man in the same position. It is not more disgusting, but it is more pathetic, because in her position as mother to the race so many innocent beings suffer through her. The home of any woman addicted to drink is a sorry place, not only because of the inevitably poor health which must be the lot of the woman and her offspring, but because in such a home there can be no respect for the mother. The loss of self-respect caused by alcoholism is worse in the case of a woman, because the stigma clings to her for ever. She can never outlive it. A man who has lapses in this respect is very commonly merely "a good fellow, but a bit too fond of the bottle."

If total prohibition is not put into force the world over, something much more drastic in the way of legislation must be enacted to protect children from contact with ignorant alcoholic women. In the Royal Free Hospital, London, there is preserved the liver of a little girl of five years of age. It is shrunken and granulated like the liver of a habitual drunkard. She had been given about a teaspoon of brandy every day throughout her very brief

life. Besides being dosed with alcoholic drinks, poisonous for their years, the children of inebriate parents invariably come in for a fair share of ill-treatment and neglect, and accidents are a daily occurrence. Evidence from the Coroner's Courts show that the accident of overlaying the baby in bed is very much more frequent on Saturday or Sunday nights than any other day in the week, the simple course being that money and drink are then more plentiful. Instances of the evil effects of intoxicating liquors from the woman's point of view might be multiplied almost endlessly.

But more than prohibition is needed; there is a pressing necessity as a corollary for some further alteration in the existing laws about the employment of women. When work is unbearably hard and dangerous as it still is in many factories, many women are driven to despair from fatigue and exhaustion, and take drink in the hope of being able to dull the edge of feeling. Intemperate drinking now-a-days is nearly always associated with poverty and misery, at any rate in the industrial centres. It seems very doubtful if there are many women who take alcohol primarily for the enjoyment of it or for any pleasurable sense of well-being it may afford them. If an investigation is made it will be found that the

drink habit has been inaugurated by worries and troubles or by pain and fatigue. One does not wish to encourage misogyny, but a good authority states that young women rarely drink, and that it is most exceptional to see a woman drinking before marriage, which evidence points to the truth that it is useless to preach temperance if social conditions are more to blame than a love of drink. If these are not remedied, prohibition will be but a partial success, and the drug habit will grow in secret and flourish like the green bay tree.

The prohibitionists, however, have every reason to look for steady support from the women of the farming communities. The women on the farms lead, at the best, drab, dull lives, and too often in the past, when the rural hotel was in full blast, their husbands, who had comparatively little to do in winter, acquired the expensive habit of spending week ends in town carousing around the saloons while their wives, ten miles out, struggled in loneliness with the problems of the homestead. The hatred of many farmers' wives for the local hotel was bitter and desperate, and their vote was cast solidly against liquor in the prohibition contests. The truth is that in the matter of prohibition women have less to lose by it and the chances

are that they might gain a great deal, if it could be effectively administered, which is the crux of the question.

There are two women who have each left a great mark on the prohibition movement, Frances E. Willard and Carrie Nation. Frances E. Willard infused idealism and energy into the W.C.T.U. and made it a vital force. She thus described its aims and ideals. "If I were asked to describe the aims and purposes of the W.C.T.U. I would reply, "It is to make the world more homelike. Women of to-day favour strict temperance legislation. They feel that if the sale of alcoholic drinks could be suppressed, their husbands and sons would be free from the temptation. It more than anything else served to break up home life." Once in a city in Texas a leader of the saloon interests made a public speech in which he boasted, "We are bound to win, we have the drinking man on our side, we have the foreigner on our side, we have money on our side, and money is a power and don't you forget it." The next day, in the same place, Frances E. Willard closed a stirring appeal for her cause with these words, "We are bound to win. We have the straight man on our side, we have the woman on our side, and we have God on our side, and God is a power and don't you forget it."

Carrie Nation, otherwise known as the Lady of the Hatchet, was born in Kentucky, a state noted for its distilleries. When quite young she married a man who became addicted to drink, and his habits destroyed her happiness. She determined to devote her life and energies to arousing the public to the evils of the saloons. Soon afterwards she married a second husband, David Nation, who was also in favour of prohibition. She started a campaign by entering bar-rooms and delivering long harangues to amazed proprietors, bartenders and customers. While this enterprise gave her some disagreeable notoriety in the press, the impression on the the general public was meagre. These tactics had to be dropped and so, possessing herself of a hatchet, she entered saloons and smashed the fittings and furniture with Berserk fury. Her activities in this direction now called attention to the fact that numbers of these saloons were running illegally as Kansas had passed a prohibition law, and their effect was to force recognition of this law. She was regarded as a fanatic and nuisance, but much as she was disliked, her example gave women a chance to say that when prohibition was law they intended to have it enforced in the spirit as well as in the letter, and the tradition still survives on both sides of the border.

CHAPTER XII.

**EVIDENCE FOR THE
DEFENCE.**



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EVIDENCE FOR THE DEFENCE.

Prohibition of the sale and manufacture of liquor has now been on trial in all the provinces of Canada with the exception of Quebec for a full year, and it is only fair to examine the evidence in favour of its successful working. The Rev. Ben Spence of the Dominion Alliance may be regarded as a strongly prejudiced witness, and he is not likely to proclaim from the house tops either facts or opinions which would militate against the acceptance of the belief that prohibition was a complete success. During the influenza epidemic certain malicious newspaper men in Ottawa circulated fictitious despatches via the papers they represented to the effect that the Government contemplated a relaxation of the prohibition laws at the instance of the medical profession, who believed that many a life could be saved by a timely dram. Poor Mr. Rowell was inundated with telegrams of protest from temperance reformers in every quarter of the country, and the Rev. Ben arrived by the first train at Ottawa to suppress what he termed "the last wail of the dying beast." As proof of the death of

the beast he has tabulated and given to the world a long list of the benefits which in his opinion have accrued to the Canadian people since the introduction of the prohibition regime. They range from decrease in drunkenness and crime to greater promptitude in the payment of rents. He is also firmly convinced that many strong opponents of prohibition have been converted to support of that measure by experience of its operation.

The Premiers of our provinces are one and all substantial people, and it gives room for thought when we find the Conservative Sir William Hearst of Ontario backed up by a Liberal quartette in the shape of the Premiers of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, in affirming that prohibition has been beneficial to the communities whose destinies are in their august hands. The following are their opinions given at the beginning of this year :

Sir William Hearst : "We have now had twelve months' experience of the Ontario Temperance Act, and I am thankful to be able to say that the operation of the law has come up to my greatest expectation. Employers of labour are unanimously of opinion that our people are doing more work and better work than ever before. A patriotic purpose of the highest order has been served.

Official figures indicate a large decrease in the number of convictions for drunkenness. The Act has been instrumental in adding greatly to the comfort and happiness of thousands of our people."

Mr. G. H. Murray : "I regard prohibitive legislation in Nova Scotia as very beneficial."

Mr. W. E. Foster : "Prohibition in New Brunswick since it became effective in May, 1917, has undoubtedly given satisfaction."

Mr. T. C. Norris : "Results are certainly beneficial and the act is working better in Manitoba than I ever expected."

Mr. W. M. Martin : "Crime has decreased and one of our gaols has been closed. Money formerly spent on liquor now finds its way into more legitimate channels and the prosperity of the Province of Saskatchewan as a whole has been increased."

Unkind and suspicious people, however, might suggest that these statesmen, being well aware that the temperance vote is now a well-organized and formidable quantity, and that the power of the liquor interests has disappeared with the closing of the bars, were keeping a weather eye on the next polling day, which for at least two of them cannot be far distant. Therefore, it would be well to investigate the opinions of people who have no motive to express any but their

genuine opinions. Too many of our political magnates are addicted to the practice of what Sir R. P. Roblin of Manitoba once described as "speaking politically." On May 19th and 20th, at the prohibition conference in Ottawa, three public officials of our capital, testified to the beneficial results of prohibition, and backed their statements with figures. Mayor Harold Fisher, who is no fanatic, declared that "the advent of prohibition had enabled the police force to be considerably reduced." He gave the following figures of arrests for drunkenness in Ottawa :

1914.....	1,121
1915.....	1,158
1916.....	935
1917.....	623
1918.....	274
1919.....	100 up to May 20th.

Yet even these figures are more in favour of prohibition than they appear at first sight, because, before the prohibition law came into effect, a man was allowed to go home so long as he was not offensive, while now-a-days any sign of drunkenness is an offence and prosecution follows. Judge Archibald, of the Ottawa Juvenile Court, asserted that the figures for the penitentiaries were a favourable evidence of the success of prohibition. In

1915, when the liquor traffic was at its height, the population of the seven penitentiaries in the Dominion was 2,118, but in 1918 the number of prisoners had been reduced to 1,463. Mr. Keen, the City Charity Relief Officer of Ottawa, declared that there had been a great diminution in the number of cases dealt with by his office since prohibition came into effect, and that he had been able to reduce his staff. In 1918 there had been 500 less applications for relief than in the previous year. In 1916 the office had on its rolls 106 dependent children, 75% of whom were victims of one or both their parents' fondness for drink. In 1917 the number was 81 and in 1918 it had been reduced to 52. Another speaker declared that retail merchants are now getting cash instead of credit accounts, and that the people who deal with them are providing better nourishment and increased quantities for their families. Certainly it is an undoubted fact that despite the high cost of living and the drain of the Victory loans, deposits in the Savings Banks have not materially diminished.

The Manitoba Government kept careful statistics relating to its latest liquor traffic regulations and reported a reduction in drunkenness of 80% and of 58% in all manner of crime. In the city of Winnipeg during the last three

months of the liquor regime, 813 drunks were arrested and in the first three months of prohibition only 161. Brandon Fair is a sort of rural saturnalia, to which the farmers congregate from every quarter of the province. In the bad old days before prohibition there were 71 arrests for drunkenness, but last year only 5 sinners were in durance vile. The champions of prohibition sent out to the mayors of the principal cities and towns of Ontario a telegraphic enquiry for an expression of opinion on the results of the first year of prohibition. Fifty-nine declared it to be a perfect God-send, one denounced it as a device of the devil, and nine were stolidly neutral. The members of the Toronto Board of Trade were also recently asked their candid opinion as to the result of prohibition, and its effects upon business conditions, and out of four hundred replies which were received less than a dozen were prepared to give an unfavourable verdict.

One noticeable feature of the temperance movement in Canada is the volume of support it has continually received from not only labour leaders but from large elements of the working class population. In England the chief obstacle to real temperance reform has been the stolid prejudices against restrictions on liquor which the working classes have firmly

clung to. In Canada to-day it was labour leaders like James Simpson and W. D. Bayley who were sent on a mission to New Zealand to further the temperance cause in that country. Mr. Simpson, who is a leading spirit in the labour movement of Toronto and edits the "Industrial Banner," recently gave a long list of benefits which prohibition had brought about from the labour point of view. With many others they include :

1. The increased efficiency of the workers as employees, and in dealing with their own problems.

2. Improvement in the payment of Union dues.

3. A substantial increase in the reserves of fuel and food in thousands of working men's homes.

4. The restoration of despondent and discouraged men to positions of usefulness and responsibility with the labour movement.

5. The insistence of men for higher standards of living as they enjoy the benefits of total abstinence.

6. More co-operation between members of labour organizations when industrial unrest develops as the result of an unjust economic order.

7. The effecting of economies in the administration of the people's affairs.

8. A reduction in the number of violations of civil and criminal laws, and in the number of cases of insanity.

9. Increased felicity in the home, and greater co-ordination of effort looking to the improvement of family life.

At the Ottawa Conference Mr. W. L. Best, a representative of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, made an impassioned plea on behalf of prohibition. He declared that alcoholic liquor was the worst foe of railroad efficiency and stated that Rule G of the American Standard Operating Rules was in force on the Canadian Railways in the following terms : "The use of intoxicants while on duty is prohibited ; their use or the frequenting of places where they are sold is sufficient cause for dismissal." In the Constitution of the Railway Brotherhoods there are inserted strong temperance clauses. Article 29, section 4 of this Constitution reads as follows: (a) "A member dealing in intoxicating liquor shall, upon conviction, be penalized by expulsion from all the benefits and privileges of the Brotherhood, including participation in the Beneficiary Department provided. This section shall not be construed to apply to a member working or having employment in a place where his principal duty is not to sell intoxicating liquors." (b) A member who

uses intoxicating liquors to excess or shall be found guilty of drunkenness, shall upon conviction be penalized by expulsion from all the benefits and privileges of the Brotherhood, including participation in the beneficial Department provided." Here is a clear cut declaration of policy by the aristocracy of the working class movement which constitutes in itself very weighty support of the temperance cause.

Such evidence shows a firm belief on the part of the higher ranks of manual labour in the benefits of sobriety and temperance, and a disinclination to make any resistance to the continuance of the prohibition laws. Among the farming community the temperance sentiment has always been strong, especially in Ontario, and now the feminine vote has come to reinforce it. Unfortunately there is no question except perhaps the tariff which is so often prejudged by the beliefs and inclinations of the individuals discussing it. There was an interesting instance of this fact in the prohibition debate in the House of Commons on May 21st, 1919. Dr. M. R. Blake, the member for North Winnipeg, is an Irishman who does not believe in prohibition. He declared that complete prohibition as practised in Manitoba contained as many evils as benefits, that the elimination of the sooth-

ing effect of alcohol was responsible for much of the industrial unrest, that the difficulty of securing spirits during the influenza epidemic was responsible for real loss of life, that the retail and wholesale druggists are making extravagant profits, and that the opinions of the Women's Christian Temperance Union ought to be disregarded because "a great many of the members of this organization never had a drink in their lives and know nothing about it," and that the proper course was to move by slow stages instead of drastic measures, for which the people were unprepared. A contrary view with regard to the same province was stated by Mr. R. C. Henders, M.P. for the Macdonald division, a soi-disant Methodist clergyman. Mr. Henders declared that opinion in his constituency was unanimous in favour of prohibitory legislation and that very great profit had accrued to the people of Manitoba through the measures adopted. The last word on the prohibition side will be with the Rev. Ben Spence, who thus sums up the situation in Canada : "No amount of sophistry, academic arguing, specious reasoning, appeals to prejudice, or calumny of opponents can offset the cold hard facts herein set out. Through all the dust of discussion as to principles, controversy as to methods, the distorted imagin-

ings of possible cataclysmic social results, this great fact stands out boldly—Prohibition Works. Call it a fool method if you will. It gets results. Pipe about its impracticability. It pays financially, socially, politically, morally. When tried, it pleases, it makes friends by its operation. In a word, prohibition makes good."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE OTHER SIDE
OF THE PICTURE.

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THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE.

The other side of the picture can be gleaned from a careful perusal of the daily papers. Scarcely a day passes but they chronicle arrests for the illegal transportation or consumption of liquor. A few taken at random in one month from that great stronghold of temperance, Ontario, give evidence of the volume of illicit trade in that province. At Brockville on April 8th, a consignment of 68 bottles of whiskey belonging to a certain Mr. Goldberg, of Port Hope, was seized, and Mr. Goldberg was fined \$200 and costs. At North Bay on April 10th, the police seized a shipment consisting of 252 bottles and a ten gallon keg which were addressed to a fictitious firm in the town. On April 30th, at Brockville, two inspectors arrested Tony Nazzarina of Hamilton and John Dolinsky of Ottawa. The former had in his possession a suitcase containing about five gallons of high wines, one of whiskey, and the latter had 19 gallons of high wines. On the same day another seizure of a suitcase containing four gallons of wine was made on the G.T.R. express, but the owner took the discreet course of not claiming it.

Quebec has fewer restrictions but as many sinners against them. At Lachute on April 7th one F. Lapierre driving from St. Jerome with a rich argosy was held up on the last lap of his journey. He declared that his load was groceries, but on examination it was found to consist of 224 bottles of whiskey, 52 of brandy, 20 of ale, 150 of gin, one jar, one large barrel and one small barrel of high wines, the total value of which was estimated at nearly two thousand dollars. In the city of Hull, which lies across the river from Ottawa, the fines for violation of the Liquor Acts collected in January and February of 1919 totalled many thousand dollars, and numerous individuals went to gaol because they had not the cash to pay their fines. Hull always has been notorious for its liquid opportunities. At the beginning of May there was a tremendous effort made to clean up the "blind pigs" and illicit trade. Chief Groulx and a squad of constables visited numerous 2% emporiums and brought away many samples of beer which they had good reason to suspect of containing more than the prescribed quantity of alcohol. Other measures were taken and in a short time there was no room for prisoners in the police station because all the cells were filled with liquor which had been confiscated from "runners" and illicit dealers. The suit-

cases alone filled one of the largest cells. But once the storm blew over the traffic went merrily onward. The "regulars" were always wont to cross with confident steps from Ottawa to Hull to procure their Sabbath restoratives from one or more of the 2% houses and—though tell it not in Gath—even members of the House of Commons and of the Senate have been numbered among the eager wayfarers. Now, however, Hull glories in the same comparative freedom from liquor restrictions as the rest of province of Quebec.

Nor is the business of the liquor inspector unattended with excitement and danger. Inspector James McLaughlin, of Ottawa, in visiting a house in search of liquor, found himself confronted with a gang of lusty aliens who viewed his invasion with considerable annoyance. As he was searching a shed at the rear of the house an axe whizzed past his head and nearly put an end to his career. Another Inspector in Hull had his eye badly blackened and his face cut in an endeavour to effect the arrest of some liquor smugglers. There are also complaints that some of the guardians of the law are not unduly enthusiastic for its enforcement and are not above taking a share in the plunder or pleasure which can be derived from seizures. In Toronto, on April 10th, Police Inspector Pogue

was fined \$200 by the police commissioner following an investigation into the disappearance of whiskey which had been placed in his charge, and in the Ontario Legislature Mr Hartley Dewart boldly hinted that liquor inspectors had sold their prizes to the official vendors and pocketed the money.

Prohibition certainly seems to promote ingenuity and cunning and the variety of devices used to defeat temperance legislation is amazing. One device was to place a cask of liquor inside a vinegar barrel, but the delicious fumes emanating therefrom revealed this venture to the police. At a town within easy distance of Toronto there arrived some months ago a coffin, which was presumed to contain a corpse, but as the mourners all elected to drive on and the body seemed strangely deserted, the police made an investigation and discovered no corpse, but several gallons of liquor in its place. The idea had obviously been borrowed from Detroit, where a similar incident was previously reported. On that occasion the casket arrived with its full complement of mourners decorously arrayed in funereal raiment. The police having been warned, they insisted upon opening the coffin to find not one spirit, but spirits galore. Disguised as maple syrup, illicit liquor makes journeys far and wide, and it has also assumed

the form of canned tomatoes. There are records of individuals, even of the fair sex, who bought cans of tomatoes or fruit on the solemn assurance of the vendors that they contained the "real stuff," but found to their disgust on opening them that the statement had been literally true, and the contents corresponded with the designation of the label.

If the newspaper reports are any criterion, the offences against the various temperance laws are extremely numerous, and a huge army of inspectors and detectives is constantly necessary to prevent wholesale violations of the law. The charge made by Mr. Hartley Dewart against the proceedings of the Ontario Licensing Commission and certain of their minions resulted in an official investigation by Sir William Meredith. Mr. Dewart charged that one Ayearst, an inspector of liquor stores, lived a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde existence. He asserted that in one guise he was a provincial civil servant busy with arduous duties which necessitated the employment of detectives as reinforcements to his own skill, and in another he was a shareholder in the detective agency which he was compelled to employ in his official capacity. Sir William has exonerated Mr. Ayearst from all blame and white-washed the Ontario

Government and its Licensing Commission but there remains behind an unpleasant suspicion that certain disagreeable blemishes in the administration of the prohibition law existed within the province. It has been freely asserted that during the St. Catharines election the good and righteous Government of Sir William Hearst in its anxiety to save the seat deliberately connived at the introduction into the constituency of large quantities of liquor for the purpose of influencing the voters. Heaven forbid that it is true. It is impossible to discuss in succession the state of affairs in all the Eastern provinces ; similar tales come in abundance from the Maritime regions, but these examples will suffice.

If Ontario and Quebec may be taken as typical of the East, Alberta may be regarded as equally typical of the West. It is the West incarnate, its banner province and therefore the last word in Anglo-Saxon civilization. Two years ago the Province went bone dry by the popular vote of the lieges taken at a referendum. There were left as oases of solace within the bounds of the province the Government dispensaries which catered only for the drug stores. The scholarly editor of the "Calgary Eye-opener," who claims to exercise a sort of Papal infallibility on the drink problem, while favoring the complete

abolition of whiskey, was utterly contemptuous of the success of total prohibition and every week the columns of his admirable paper were filled with clarion calls for the restoration of beer to its proper place in the social firmament. But his was almost a solitary voice crying in the wilderness and the daily press and public bodies of Alberta joined in a chorus to hymn praises of the new order.

But on Saturday, February 15th, in the legislature at Edmonton, there was a full dress debate upon the state of liquor morale in the province which provides some interesting evidence. Mr. Boyle, the Attorney-General of the Province, a veteran administrator, said that there had been 1,700 convictions for violation of the Temperance Act during 1918, but complained that if breaches of the law often went unpunished, the laxity arose from the consistent failure of an unsympathetic public to give any aid. Said Mr. Boyle with great frankness, "There is a great deal of camouflage about the whole thing. I venture to say that 60% of the male adults of this province were guilty last year of some infraction of the Liquor Act. I do not mean that this number were buying from boot-leggers, but they were lying to a doctor and telling him they were sick when they wanted a drink." In the Alberta house there sits Mrs. Louise McKin-

ney, the first feminine legislator elected in Canada. Mrs. McKinney is a woman of great gifts and charm. She is a friend of every good cause and an ardent progressive, but prohibition is her dearest love. She could scarcely believe her ears and arose to ask the Attorney General if they had not deceived her. "The honourable lady from Claresholm has heard correctly," replied the brazen Mr. Boyle, "and I believe a great majority of the gentlemen of this House will agree with me." Probably many of "the gentlemen of the House" were aware of the truth of the facts by pleasant experience. At any rate they signified their approval of Mr. Boyle's candor by vigorous pounding of their desks and other signs of political enthusiasm. Mrs. McKinney felt that this terrible stigma must not be allowed to remain upon the fair name of Alberta, so on behalf of herself and Miss Roberta McAdams, her solitary feminine colleague, she gave voice to a formal repudiation of the slander and the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Hoadley, gently concurred. After this interlude the Attorney General resumed his speech. He was ready to admit that the practice of boot-legging, which means the secret selling of bad liquor, was far from unknown. On the instance of Rev. A. W. Coone, of the Social Service League, two

representatives of a well-known detective agency had been imported to detect the law-breakers. They had proceeded to their task and Mr. Boyle left town, confident that the law would be enforced. When he returned a few days later he found that they had drawn advance pay of \$150.00 and without producing any quarry had sought fresh fields and pastures new. The agency that procured them reported that "one of them was sick and they did not think it would do any good to stay." We are left to infer whether the one who was sick, had become sick through disgust at the innumerable violations of the law which were revealed to his observation, or whether they declined to stay because the law was so well administered that their presence was superfluous.

To-day the Provincial Government employs local citizens as its sleuths. Apparently regular detectives do not care to undertake the work for the reason that once they appear in court to obtain a conviction they become as well known as the famous W. J. Burns, and their usefulness is at an end. The only satisfactory method is to employ a constant stream of fresh detectives, and evidently, if the law of Alberta is to be enforced, every detective on the North American Continent will, in the next three years, draw pay from the

local Government. Mr. Boyle, however, was very sceptical of the value of the modern tribe of detectives. When a certain railway corporation had employed detectives to watch its own cars, the boot-leggers beguiled them to their service with higher pay. Hardened smugglers would hire an officer of the law as cheerfully as they would hire a taxi and the enormous profits which they secured, enabled them to offer attractive pay. He then admitted that there was a great deal of illicit drinking from drug store sales, but in comparison with the sales over the bar under the old system, the amount of liquor now consumed was so infinitesimal that the province could be classed as dry. In the old Elysian days many a bar had \$1,000 worth of trade in a single day. The records to day show that at the times of greatest festivity none of the Government vendors in the province who supplied all the drug stores had ever sold more than \$1,000 worth in a single day. In short, the total consumption in the province for a day through the drug stores was not equal to the sale for one day in two bars under the old system. Mr. W. M. Davidson, of Calgary, was disinclined to believe the stories of the vast volume of boot-legging. He declared that the liquor interests subtilely disseminated such stories in order to discredit

the prohibition system, but pointed out that when the Attorney General declared that there had been only 1,700 convictions for breaches of the Temperance Act and that there were 60,000 sinners in the province, there was something seriously wrong with the Department of the said Attorney General.

British Columbia is a near and dear neighbour of Alberta. It has manifold attractions and tremendous possibilities. It boasts a variety of population which no other province can show and its denizens weary the earth with songs of its praises. Inasmuch as a considerable proportion of its population consist of well-born emigrés with the lofty traditions of the English Public School behind them, it proclaims for itself the possession of a higher standard of political morale and general ethics than second-rate communities like Saskatchewan which contain within their bounds many Huns, Tzecho-Slovaks and other inferior tribes can ever attain to. Now British Columbia is a moist and humid region whose climate is not appreciably different from that of the south-west counties of England. It has not the torrid summers of the prairies nor their fierce winters. There cannot, therefore, be the same fierce craving for a cooling beverage in summer and a warmth-giving tonic in winter, as the sub-

Arctic prairies know. Here surely prohibition might have a chance to succeed, if anywhere on earth. There were long grave doubts as to the course which British Columbia would pursue in regard to temperance. She clung lovingly to her saloons and open sale of liquor after the prairie provinces had abolished them.

When the new Liberal Government in 1916 put the prohibition law into operation, they established an agency for the importation of liquor for the benefit of the drug stores, in charge of a certain Mr. William Findlay, a well-known temperance reformer, and needless to say, a faithful satellite of the Liberal chiefs. He was given sovereign powers for the liquor administration of the province, and for a time all seemed to go well. But latterly Dame Rumour grew busy with a tale that the commissioner's vocal enthusiasm for prohibition was not borne out by his practice and general conduct. It soon became known to the initiated that Mr. William Findlay, the commissioner of liquor, was the king of bootleggers in the province. Naturally he had enormous opportunities for the exercise of his surreptitious calling and availed himself of them to his great profit. If a thirsty citizen of Vancouver desired to replenish his cellar, did he lay plans with some secret agent

to open connections with Seattle and import the longed-for potations as maple syrup or canned tomatoes? He took no such circuitous route to quench his thirst. He simply sent a courier to Mr. William Findlay, liquor commissioner of the Province, and his wants were satisfied for a price. Quis custodiet ipsos custodies? There has been nothing like it since the celebrated Deacon Brodie, about whom R.L.S. wrote a play. The Deacon by day was a respectable merchant, loved and revered by his family and his friends, but when the shades fell he became a common enemy of society, a burglar and desperado. Mr. Findlay managed to sustain this double role as game-keeper and poacher for many months but in the end his strange doings could be no longer concealed; he was arrested and a cruel court sent him to gaol for two years. Of necessity he had to resign his post and many a thirsty soul in British Columbia is willing to declare that they will never look upon his like again. Almost parallel incidents have occurred elsewhere.

It is all very tragic and sad and reveals a deplorable state of affairs. Here is evidence presented from various provinces, all of different types and lying in different quarters of Canada, from which it is plain that the administration of prohibition is stained with

a deplorable amount of intrigue and fraud. Government officials seem to think that a Temperance Act is not a law to be enforced, but a source of profit for themselves and the public seem to regard such an attitude as eminently natural and almost worthy of encouragement. Probably Mr. Findlay and his like set out with sincere reforming hearts and the best will in the world to cleanse their provinces of the abomination of liquor. We will give them credit for this high purpose, but inevitably their duties revealed to them that instead of possessing diligent public support for the enforcement of the law, almost a majority of the community were linked together in an effort to defeat its purposes. They felt that Sisyphus in rolling his stone up the hill had an easy task compared with theirs, and decided that they might as well make the most of the situation for their own profit and advantage. The anxiety of temperance reformers to get a finger in the liquor trade is almost notorious. In Port Arthur in April one of the leading spirits of the local temperance forces was found to have in his possession large quantities of alcoholic liquors and to be conducting a profitable illicit trade. Possibly this type of reformer acts after the analogy of the early Christians of whom Gibbon writes in a famous passage,

that they were not content with resisting temptation when they met it, but had to seek the enemy out at close quarters. There is an old saying in Great Britain that the best gamekeeper is an ex-poacher, and probably our governors would do better to select as administrators of their temperance laws and dispensaries, not zealous apostles of temperance reform, but veteran hotel keepers who know the tricks of the business, and are immune to its temptations.

CHAPTER XIV.

WHAT WE MAY MISS.

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Whatever influence alcoholic liquors may have exercised on the physique and stamina of the nation, the importance of the part they have played in the social and literary life of the race cannot be denied. Alcoholic beverages of some sort were the basis of the jollifications, feasts and functions in mansion, cottage or hall which have been characteristic of the British race since its earliest days. It is impossible to imagine what the course of our social history would have been if in days gone by a puritanical prohibition party had forbidden the people to participate in feasts and festivals or to quaff any stronger potion than ginger ale or coca-cola. Taverns, too, played no mean part in the literary life of the nation. It was in taverns that the poets and wits of Shakespeare's, Addison's, and Dr. Johnson's days foregathered, and if their sole beverage had been water or grape juice, it is impossible to believe but that English literature would have been the poorer. Dr. Robert Farquharson, the late well-known Scotch M.P., in presenting "The Case for Moderate Drinking," in Blackwood's Magazine some years

ago, declared it would be difficult to discern some of our most distinguished literary characters apart from their convivialities and wrote:

"We may be certain that Coleridge and Lamb did not toil up Hampstead Hill to drink water at the Salutation and Cat, and the merry coffee-housing of the club was mellowed by potations which stimulated the talk of Burke and Goldsmith and the appreciation of Reynolds.

We see Dickens and Forster and Stanfield and Maclise at their early dinners before the play, or at their suppers after the curtain fell, and we know that there was just enough liquor among them to warm, but not heat, and to set their tongues going with free but decorous elasticity. Sir Walter Scott's cheery little banquets, where the strictest moderation was recorded in his "Journal," were full of mirth and good-fellowship; and is it likely that soda-water would have been equally successful in bringing out the best points of the guests and infusing them with a harmonious whole?"

Again, the tavern was the recognized community centre of the olden days. There the politicians and the early clubs and societies met. They constituted the whole foci of local life from which news and information spread at a time when newspapers were infinitely scarcer than they are to-day. In

the days before the railways they were the meeting centre of business men, commercial agents and representatives of all types of society. Even the coffee houses which figured so prominently in the literature and memoirs of Britain in the days of the later Stuarts were simply taverns under another name. The Cocoa Tree and others form a part of our history. Numerous causes produced a steady decline in reputation for the average tavern, but the most efficacious was the persistent zeal of the temperance party in discrediting the character of places where alcohol was openly sold.

It is obvious from the results of the recent plebiscite in Quebec that the French Canadian citizens of our country are not of a mind to embark on any fanatical programme of total prohibition, and they may be joined in their determination by another element which, if not so numerically strong, is probably as influential. Canadians have not much contact with or knowledge of Horace and Catullus and the Provencal bards who have sung the pleasures of the wine cup, but most of them have some acquaintance with Burns' poems and the literature and history of Scotland. No less a person than Lord Northcliffe, a man without a drop of Scots blood in his veins, gave it as his reasoned opinion that

the English-speaking portion of Canada was indelibly stamped with the Scotch characteristics and traditions. It is this same stubborn Scotch strain that will bitterly resist the attempt of any clique of zealots, however earnest and sincere they may be, to cramp within certain grim restrictions the habits and pleasures of the human race. They will do so not merely because of a passionate individualism which dislikes any interference with personal liberty, but because there is in their makeup a happy association of good fellowship, intellectual society and fine table talk with the bottle and the glass. Mr. Rowell is possibly a very noble character, but it is doubtful if he will ever be as good a lawyer or as true a Liberal as Henry, Lord Cockburn, the friend of Macaulay and Sydney Smith, nor can he excel in religious devotion Lord Dunfermline, who on his deathbed had only one regret that he would be "away" ere the great struggle for religious freedom in his country came to a head, as it did in the Disruption of 1843. Yet we find Lord Cockburn writing thus to his brother :

"My dear John,—Have you any perfect whiskey ? Absolutely perfect for instant use ? Lord Dunfermline and another person dine here on Monday who rejoice in no other liquor and who are supereminently fastidious. If

you have none which ought to make them ashamed of all they ever tasted, send me none. If you have such as they have no notion of, send me a gallon, or even a single bottle. Ever, H. Cockburn."

And what of Cockburn's other friend, Lord Hermand, whom Cockburn thus describes in his Memorial of his Time : "With very simple tastes and rather a contempt of epicurism, but very gregarious, he was fond of the pleasures, and not the least of the liquid ones, of the table ; and he had acted in more of the severest scenes of old Scotch drinking than any man at last living. Commonplace toppers think drinking a pleasure ; but with Hermand it was a virtue. It inspired the excitement by which he was elevated, and the discursive jollity which he loved to promote. But beyond these ordinary attractions, he had a sincere respect for drinking, indeed a high moral approbation, and a serious compassion for the poor wretches who could not indulge in it, with due contempt of those who could, but did not. He groaned over the gradual disappearance of the great days of periodical festivity, and prolonged the observance, like a hero fighting amidst his fallen friends, as long as he could. The worship of Bacchus, which softened his own heart, and seemed to him to soften the hearts

of his companions, was a secondary duty. But in its performance there was no violence, no coarseness, no impropriety, and no more noise than what belongs to well-bred jollity unrestrained. It was merely a sublimation of his peculiarities and excellences ; the realisation of what poetry ascribes to the grape. No carouse ever injured his health, for he was never ill, or impaired his taste for home and quiet, or muddled his head ; he slept the sounder for it, and rose the earlier and the cooler. The cordiality inspired by claret and punch was felt by him as so congenial to all right thinking, that he was confident that he could convert the Pope if he could only get him to sup with him. And certainly his Holiness would have been hard to persuade, if he could have withstood Hermand about the middle of his second tumbler."

Hermand had a firm belief in the dangers and perils of sobriety for mankind. On one occasion he and his colleagues tried a young man for culpable homicide. Two youths who were great friends had gone to the theatre, and returning to the lodging of one of them, they passed the whole summer's night over a punch bowl. In the morning a friendly wrangle arose about their separating or continuing the spree, when by some rashness or

by accident one of them was stabbed, not violently, but in so vital a spot that he died immediately. They were boon companions, and as there was no question that the legal guilt was greater than the moral, the majority of the bench quite properly gave the culprit only a short term of imprisonment. But Hermand, who felt that discredit had been brought on the cause of drinking, resented the tenderness of his brother judges and pressed strongly for transportation to Australia. "We are told that there was no malice and that the prisoner must have been in liquor. In liquor ! Why he was drunk and yet he murdered the very man who had been drinking with him ! They had been carousing the whole night, and yet he stabbed him after drinking a whole bottle of rum with him ; good God, my laards, if he will do this when he is drunk what will he not do when he is sober."

The tradition of drinking among legal luminaries of Scotland was of long date. Duncan Forbes of Culloden was the greatest of all the Lord Advocates of the 18th century and certainly saved Scotland from complete capitulation to the Jacobites in the Forty-five. He was a man of a deeply religious turn of mind, and at the close of his life produced several theological and philosophical works,

in addition to being the leading lawyer and most powerful politician in his country during his generation. Yet Ramsay of Ochtertyre, author of "Scotland and Scotsmen," tells of convivial evenings spent in his company, and declared that "if ever excessive drinking was to be excused, it was in the company of this wise and generous man." Apparently it was his conviction that it was a liberal education to spend a night over the bottle in Forbes of Culloden's company. There was scarcely a judge of that day in Scotland who was not a confirmed devotee of the bottle in greater or less degree. Lord Rockville was distinguished for his ability and legal knowledge. Upon appearing late one night at a convivial club with a most rueful expression of countenance, and on being asked what was the matter, he replied with tremendous solemnity, "Gentlemen, I have just met with the most extraordinary adventure that ever befell a human being. As I was walking along the Grass-market, all of a sudden the street rose up and struck me in the face."

Cockburn gives this account of the social habits of his time. "The dinners themselves were much the same as at present. Any difference is in a more liberal adoption of the cookery of France. Ice, either for cooling or eating, was utterly unknown, except in a few

houses of the highest class. There was far less drinking during dinner than now, and far more after it. The staple wines, even at ceremonious parties, were in general only port and sherry. Champagne was never seen. It only began to appear after France opened by the peace of 1815. The exemption of Scotch claret from duty, which continued (I believe) till about 1780, made it till then the ordinary beverage. Healths and toasts were special torments; oppressions which cannot now be conceived. Every glass of dinner required to be dedicated to the health of some one. It was thought sottish and rude to take wine without this—as if forsooth there was nobody present worth drinking with. I was present, about 1803, when the late Duke of Buccleuch took a glass of sherry by himself at the table of Charles Hope, then Lord Advocate; and this was noticed afterwards as a piece of ducal contempt. And the person asked to take wine was not invited by anything so slovenly as a look combined with a putting of the hand upon the bottle, as is practised by new neighbours now. It was a much more serious affair. For one thing the wine was very rarely on the table. It had to be called for; and in order to let the servant know to whom he was to carry it, the caller was obliged to specify his partner

aloud. All this required some premeditation and courage. Hence timid men never ventured on so bold a step at all ; but were glad to escape by only drinking when they were invited.

As this ceremony was a mark of respect, the landlord or any other person who thought himself the great man, was generally graciously pleased to perform it to every one present. But he and others were always at liberty to abridge the severity of the duty, by performing it by platoons. They took a brace, or two brace, of ladies or of gentlemen, or of both, and got them all engaged at once, and proclaiming to the sideboard—"A glass of sherry for Miss Dundas, Mrs. Murray and Miss Hope, and a glass of port for Mr. Hume, and one for me," he slew them by coveys. And all the parties to the contract were bound to acknowledge each other distinctly. No nods, or grins or indifference ; but a direct look at the object, the audible uttering of the very words, "Your good health," accompanied by a respectful inclination of the head, a gentle attraction of the right hand towards the heart, and a gratified smile. And after all these detached pieces of attention during the feast were over, no sooner was the table cleared and the after-dinner glasses set down, than it became

necessary for each person, following the landlord, to drink the health of every other person present, individually. Thus, where there were ten people, there were ninety healths drunk. This ceremony was often slurred over by the bashful, who were allowed merely to look the benediction ; but usage compelled them to look it distinctly, and to each individual. To do this well, required some grace, and consequently it was best done by the polite, ruffled and frilled gentlemen of the olden times.

Nor was a love of good social drinking confined to the legal fraternity. The Reverend Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk was one of the recognized leaders of the Presbyterian Church, long head of the "Moderate" faction in that body. He was renowned for his piety and learning, but he would have found the Rev. Dr. Shearer ill company. He liked his glass and felt it a necessary perquisite of the spiritual calling. Thus does he describe a visit to a relative on the borders : "We did not see the laird, who was from home, but we saw the lady, who was a much greater curiosity. She was a very large and powerful virago, about forty years of age, and received us with much kindness and hospitality. On our peremptory refusal to alight, she darted into the house like a hogshead

down a slope and returned instantly with a pint bottle of brandy—a Scotch pint I mean—and a stray beer glass, into which she filled almost a bumper. After a long grace said by Mr. Jardine—for it was his turn now, being the third brandy-bottle we had seen since we left Lochmaben—she emptied it to our healths and made the gentlemen follow her example. This lady was famous even in the Annandale border both at bowl and in battle ; she could drink a Scotch pint of brandy with ease, and, when the men grew obstreperous in their cups, she would either put them out of doors or to bed, as she found most convenient.

Another time he and Principal Robertson the historian, took a tour in the Islands in the Firth of Clyde and partook of many hospitalities. After four days in Bute, the biographer of Charles V. took Mr. Carlyle to a window before dinner and with some solemnity proposed to make a motion to shorten the drinking if he would second him, "because," he added, "although you and I may go through it, I am averse to it on James Stuart's account." Mr. Carlyle thus narrates his own reply : "I answered that I would willingly second whatever measure of that kind he should propose, but added that I was afraid it would not do as our toastmaster was very

despotic, and besides might throw ridicule upon us, as we were to leave the island the day after the next, and that we had not proposed any abridgment to the repast till the old claret was all done, the last of which we had drunk yesterday." "Well, well," replied the doctor, "be it so then, and let us end as we began." Then he naively adds, "I was Moderator of the Synod that year." How far removed is such conversation from the life of our twentieth century church leaders !

But let it not be thought that Scotland had any monopoly of zest for the bottle. There was a time when drunkenness was no uncommon sight in the British House of Commons ; yet when in the session of 1918, a member at Ottawa, slightly mellow with wine, fell on the floor, it constituted a scandalum magnatum for weeks. But the famous oration, in which he assailed the alliance of Britain with the American Indians—as fine a piece of eloquence as ever delighted or terrified the House of Lords—was delivered by the great Lord Chatham, who was always at his best after a severe attack of gout, against the policies of Lord North, who at thirty-two had been almost too gout-ridden to accept office. Charles Fox was the greatest orator of his and almost of any age, but he was also one of the hardest drinkers. Yet he was in

high company for in his time the head of the law in England and the head of the Church in Ireland were notorious as the two fastest livers in their respective countries. In these days a man was of small account in good society who counted his drinking exploits by mere glasses. "They tell me, Sir John," said George III. to one of his favourites, "that you love a glass of wine." "Those who have so informed your Majesty," was the reply, "have done me great injustice. They should have said bottle." Philip Francis, the reputed author of the Letters of Junius, though he sipped drops while his companions were "punishing" bumpers, was quite accustomed to finish a dinner in a maudlin condition, and records how two of his friends without having performed any feat worthy of special note, consumed in one evening a gallon and a half of burgundy and champagne.

On the other hand, it may be admitted that many of the bibulous rollickers of that age succumbed at a comparatively early age to the penalties of self-indulgence and have left unpleasant legacies to their descendants of to-day. Their lives were not long nor were their closing years happy. "Lord Cholmondeley," wrote Horace Walpole, "died last Saturday. He was seventy, and had a constitution to have carried him to a hun-

dred, if he had not destroyed it by an intemperance that would have killed anybody else in half the time. As it was he had outlived by fifteen years all his set who had reeled into the ferryboat before him." Says Sir George Trevelyan, in his *Life of Charles Fox* : "A statesman of the Georgian era was sailing on a sea of claret from one comfortable official haven to another at a period of life when a political apprentice in the reign of Victoria is not yet out of his indentures." Any acquaintance with the personal memoirs of the 18th century must be struck by the immense place which drinking occupied in the lives of the young and the consequences of drinking in that of the old. George III. was probably the first person of note who took an active stand on the side of temperance. He was anxious to increase the power of the Crown, and therefore felt it necessary to husband his bodily powers for the sake of his duties. One time some of his ministers were congratulating one of their number, who had been condemned to a bath chair for attacks of the gout, on having reached such distinction. Said his Majesty, "People tell me that the gout is a very wholesome thing ; but I for one can never believe it." During his reign he set an excellent example by way of improvement of the social habits and moral standards of

the nations. After his death there was a relapse under his two successors, but Victoria again began the good work. Her influence in foreign policy and domestic politics was not always to the good, but great credit must be given to our long-reigned Queen for the vast improvements in the morals and habits of the upper classes in Great Britain during her era. To-day drunkenness in a decent club is almost unknown, and meets with merited reprobation. But henceforth under prohibition drinking will have to be undertaken with a furtive solemnity, inevitably destructive of all the good talk and intellectual bandiage which characterized the old drinking days. When the Manitoba Club provides as good company as Brooks' one hundred and thirty years ago, and when the city of Toronto contains as fine a galaxy of brilliant intellects as the Edinburgh of Henry Cockburn's time, then and then only will we be able to say that prohibition is an unqualified success.

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CHAPTER XV.

THE EVILS WE KNOW NOT OF.

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THE EVILS WE KNOW NOT OF.

"What dangers is the pilgrim in,
How many are his foes,
How many ways there are to sin,
No living mortal knows.

"Some of the ditch shy are, yet can
Lie trembling in the mire,
Some, though they shun the frying pan
Do leap into the fire."

In the first chapter of this book evidence was adduced of a diversified list of beverages which the various human races at different epochs in history had resorted to as stimulants. Among them alcoholic beverages had pride of place, but there have always been many variants. It is clearly patent that there are wide-spread demands and uses among the men and women of all races and types for such stimulants in spite of what teetotal critics may say to the contrary. Apart from the food value of alcoholic beverages, which is a subject of eternal controversy, stimulants have been taken for other reasons than because of the actual nourishment which they might or might not possess. They were sought as

an agreeable drink, as a source of warmth and preventative of chills, as a modification of the pangs of hunger. They gave a sense of pleasure, gratification and comfortable self-satisfaction, they imparted a finer zest to social enterprises. They alleviated pain, relaxed nerves exhausted by suffering, anxiety or physical labour, dulled or removed for a time the worries of life, took away the pressure of daily cares and by imparting new vigour enabled men to face difficult problems and tackle enterprises which they might otherwise, under the spell of pessimism, have declared impossible. In some or other of these ways stimulants appealed to the wants and instincts of humanity, and were desired for these special effects without any reference to their food value.

Even, therefore, if we grant that stimulants have no food value, these age-long motives for their consumption would still exist. We are therefore confronted with a primal factor in the whole question of temperance. There is no escaping the fact of the existence among mankind as an inherent part of his being of a deep desire from time to time for some artificial stimulant calculated to produce mental or physical effects which could not exist or be acquired naturally. This desire probably varies in type and inten-

sity in different individuals according to their circumstances, temperaments and modes of living, but every grown up human being is liable to its influence and sometime or other may succumb to it. A man's refusal to consume alcoholic drinks constitutes no evidence of his abstinence from other stimulants. Opium, cocaine, quinine and various other drugs are the more extreme substitutes, but they are indulged in very freely and supplied in a manner much the same as alcohol. Tea, coffee and tobacco are also stimulants of a sort; likewise are pickles, catsup, Worcester sauce and other table relishes, still more so are many well-known brands of patent medicines.

Notoriously, too, there has been an enormous increase in the consumption of patent medicines containing alcohol. The Massachusetts Board of Health analyzed sixty well-known and widely patronized tonics and other proprietary medicines. The result showed that the alcoholic percentage ranged from 6% to 47.5%, the average being 20.4%. Dr. A. J. Reed, of the Battle Creek Sanatorium, made some years ago an interesting experiment to test the percentage of alcohol in patent medicines. He placed a tablespoonfull each of Hostetter's stomach bitters, and a Pinkham's Vegetable Compound,

Peruna and beer in a vessel. Each was attached by a rubber tube to a gas burner which was lighted and the whole fabric was ignited and burned as follows :

	Minutes.	Seconds.
Hostetter's Stomach Bitters .	4	0
Peruna.....	2	40
Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound.....	2	35
Beer.....	0	20

On April 10th, 1919, Major Daniel L. Porter, Supervisor in New York for the Internal Revenue Department, declared at a conference with State and Municipal authorities that the narcotic evil was "the greatest problem of the nation." He asserted that three New York physicians recently investigated had been found to have dispensed 1,500,000 narcotic prescriptions to drug subjects in six months. Major Porter stated that one of the doctors arrested in the raid had prescribed narcotics for 271 addicts in two hours in an office furnished with "one soap box and one chair." There are in his opinion many unscrupulous physicians in New York who are doing a similarly thriving business. The druggists taken in the raids, it was stated, had been charging about 500 per cent more than the legitimate price for the drugs they dispensed. Dr. Royal S. Copeland said that the majority of the addicts now being treated

were young men and women who claimed to have been introduced to the drug habit at dance halls where dancing partners suggested they take drugs to "give them more pep."

It may be admitted that strictly medical motives caused part of the consumption, but there is also ample reason to believe that an even larger portion of that consumption finds its origin in the keen craving for some stimulant to supply the place of the ordinary beers, wines or spirits which have been banned by law. It is an undoubted fact that the consumption of drugs has increased in the United States as the sway of prohibition has gathered strength. In England, too, public opinion is becoming genuinely alarmed at the spread of the drug habit. The recent revelations concerning the death of a well-known actress, Billie Carleton, revealed a very unpleasant state of affairs and gave every ground for belief that the drug habit is very widespread in certain circles in Great Britain. Ten years ago drug taking was comparatively unknown there. Its growth may have been induced by the atmosphere of excitement engendered by the war, but other observers declare that the severe restrictions on drink have played no small part in its development. Here in Canada we find an almost similar state of affairs. Opium smoking is on the

increase, and the Chinese elements derive a lucrative income from its importation. There have been several cases recently of large hauls of smuggled opium, which suggest that a profitable trade in it is being carried on. Scarcely a day passes but the papers contain news of some thirsty soul meeting an untimely end through drinking wood-alcohol, methylated spirits, bay rum or some other beverage which contains alcohol in its most noxious form. The sale of patent medicines is also greatly on the increase. There was a time at least in rural Canada when Pain Killer almost took as high rank as a beverage as Mozelle or Burgundy in exalted urban circles? During the old days of the Smith Act, which made the North West territories nominally dry, the sales of Pain Killer in that region reached an enormous volume. To-day, however, it has competitors, and has lost its old-time pre-eminence. In the United States there is a provision in the Pure Food Act which came into force on January 1st, 1907, requiring that all malt tonics and malt extracts passing from one State to another and offered for sale by druggists as possessing medicinal qualities shall bear a label setting forth the percentage of alcohol which they contained. This session a bill dealing with Proprietary and Patent Medicines has been

passed at Ottawa; its terms will in future prohibit the sale or manufacture of patent medicines which contain more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent alcohol or if they contain more alcohol will ensure some plain indication that they are not kept for use as a drink.

But there is another field which will repay investigation by temperance advocates. A brief survey of the alternatives to alcoholic beverages in the shape of so-called temperance drinks may well cast a damper on their enthusiasms. Some of them are quite willing to acknowledge that certain soft drinks contain alcohol, but declare that the quantity is so infinitesimal that it cannot possibly cause drunkenness. When they concede this point it is surely a matter very much open for discussion as to how much alcohol is desirable or allowable. "What is one man's meat is another man's poison," and 2% and 20% may have equivalent results in two different individuals. The man or woman who takes nothing but water as his only beverage is rare indeed. Men often take water and do not take beer, wine or spirits, but nearly all take tea, coffee and one or other of the endless variety of soft drinks offered to the general public as well. Now it is a fact that many of these other drinks contain substances every bit as injurious to the physical organism as

alcohol could possibly be, but as long as they are not consumed to excess, their injurious effects are not immediately apparent.

The temperance reformers condemn alcohol chiefly because when taken to excess it may produce intoxication. Alcohol at least has the merit of warning the consumer thereof when he is approaching the border land of "Enough is as good as a feast." But not so with the many toxic compounds emanating from the soft drink counter. Horrifying as it may sound, ice cream sodas of the fancy variety perhaps contain a dose of chloroform in disguise, accompanied by another of some mineral acid of a corrosive nature. No small number of people are under the delusion that beer, wines and spirits are the only drinks that contain alcohol. Many a prohibition pater familias, who glories in treating his family to soft drinks, would be astounded to learn that not only do many of his favourite beverages contain alcohol, but what is worse, other really toxic ingredients as well. The following receipts are taken from a book published for the benefit of the Soda Fountain trade. The numbers refer to fluid ounces :

Lime Fruit Essence: Deodorized alcohol, 60; pineapple essence, acetic ether, and oil of lemon, 10 each; glycerine, 4; aldehyde and acetic acid, 2 each; chloroform and nitrous ether, 1 each.

Raspberry Essence : Deodorized alcohol, 50 ; pure raspberry juice, 20 ; tincture of orris root, 10 ; acetic ether, 5 ; glycerine, 3 ; nitrous ether, aldehyde, formic ether, butyric ether, benzoic ether, grape seed oil, oil of wintergreen, acetate of amyl, butyrate of amyl, cenanthic ether, chloroform and spirit of rose, 1 each.

Apricot Essence : Deodorized alcohol, 50 ; pure apricot juice, 25 ; butyric ether, 10 ; valerianic ether, 5 ; glycerine, 5 ; amyl alcohol, 2 ; butyrate of amyl, chloroform and bitter almond oil, 1 each.

In certain cases the flavourings make no pretence to contain any of the genuine fruit juice at all. Below are three samples of purely artificial adjuncts for soft drinks ; the figures represent parts by measure for 100 parts of rectified spirits :

Cherry : Acid, benzoic, 1 ; ether, acetic, 5 ; ether, benzoic, 5 ; ether oenanthic, 1 ; glycerine, 3.

Orange : Acid, tartaric, 1 ; aldehyde, 2 ; chloroform, 2 ; ether acetic, 5 ; ether, amyl-acetic, 1 ; ether, benzoic, 1 ; ether butyric, 1 ; ether, formic, 1 ; ether, methyl-salicylic, 1 ; glycerine, 10 ; oil, orange, 10.

Peach : Alcohol, amylic, 2 ; aldehyde, 2 ; ether, acetic, 5 ; ether, butyric 5 ; ether, formic, 5 ; ether, sebacylic, 1 ; ether, val-

erianic, 5 ; glycerine, 5 ; oil, peach kernel, 5

Many temperance drinks, among them ginger beer, have a good head of froth on them which in the eyes of the average consumer adds greatly to their attractiveness. Little do people realize that this is produced by the use of ground soap bark (quillia). An average receipt calls for "16 ozs. of this to 8 fl. ozs. of alcohol and of water a sufficient quantity." In this syrup is contained saponin, the active principle of quillia bark which, when taken in sufficient medicinal quantities, seriously affects the heart. As a rule, the amount of alcohol in temperance drinks is supposed to be limited to 2%, for which amount the manufacturers are not liable for duty. Sometimes fermentation sets up and from one cause or another many temperance drinks by the time they reach the consumer often contain considerably more than the legal amount of alcohol. A report made by the Chief Chemist upon the work of the British Government Laboratory in March 1906 gave the following interesting figures. Of 924 samples of ginger, herb and botanic beers, examined, 349 were found to contain an excessive amount of alcohol :

58 contained 3 per cent, but less than 4 per cent., of proof spirit ; 35 contained 4 per cent., but less than 6 per cent., of proof

spirit ; 8 contained 6 per cent., or more, the highest containing 9.5 per cent of proof spirit.

In view of the above facts, it seems obvious that it is exceedingly difficult to eliminate alcohol from even the drinks favoured by total abstainers. Besides, is it not probable that a glass of beer made from malt and hops would be more acceptable to the physical body than raspberry phosphates and their kind compounded upon the above principles ? It may be contended that the quantities of objectionable chemical materials other than alcohol are small but, if it is a matter of quantity, then the moderate consumer of alcohol can retort that precisely the same arguments apply to his pet beverages, with the added proviso that at least in most cases the foundation of beer and wine is honest grain and real grapes, whereas the soda fountain trade made no pretence to offer anything of a food nature in their soft drinks. However, it is very difficult for the prohibitionist to see any of these arguments which depend upon "quantity" because to him "temperance" and total abstinence are synonymous terms. Some of the prominent prohibition weeklies carry conspicuous advertisements for tea, but apart from members of the medical profession none of our temperance reformers think of considering the

injurious effects of other stimulants which will be more freely used when alcohol is no longer obtainable. On the same page of "The Pioneer," the leading organ in Canada of the temperance movement, there lately appeared an advertisement for a well known tea and also an extract from a book by Sir Lauder Brunton, M.D., which reads, "Alcohol produces paralysis of the judgment, and this begins with the first glass." But the amusing thing is that this same high medical authority, seems to have been equally loud in his condemnation of tea. He wrote elsewhere:

"In large quantity tea causes sleeplessness, and in larger still produces excitement of the circulation, and such a disturbance of the nervous system that the patient suffers from hallucinations of vision and trembling of the muscles, somewhat resembling that in delirium tremens. These symptoms are produced much more readily by green tea than by black. In some exceptional cases the susceptibility to the action of tea is so great that a few cups of green tea will bring on marked muscular tremors, others again are so readily rendered wakeful by tea, that they cannot drink a cup of tea after two o'clock in the day. Poor women, who are much underfed, and whose only comfort is a cup of tea, generally take it very hot, so as to add

the stimulant effect of warmth on the circulation to the stimulant effect of the tea on the nervous system. This same class of people are accustomed to take their tea not only hot, but strong, and in order that no particle of its virtue may be lost, they infuse it for a very long time. In this way they extract a quantity of tannin, and the combined effect of the tannin and the excessively hot tea upon the stomach produces a condition of dyspepsia."

Of coffee he wrote: "When taken to excess it not only produces digestive disturbance, but nervous symptoms, palpitation, restlessness, irritability, sleeplessness and general nervous depression. . . . It should be avoided by those who are liable to suffer from various forms of nervous disturbance, such as functional palpitation of the heart and liability to attacks of neuralgia, hysteria and epilepsy."

It is an exceedingly common thing to hear a woman say, "Oh, I am alright so long as I can get my cup of tea," or a man, "I can work like a nigger so long as I get plenty of coffee." These good people, though they may not know it, are taking stimulants just as much as those who use alcoholic drinks, for it seems to be established beyond question that the stimulation of alcohol is more or less

illusory, but that it is a real nerve sedative, and of some food value, neither of which qualities either tea or coffee can lay claim to. There is no intention to disparage these beverages, but facts should be faced, and self deception is the most fatal of all practices.

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CHAPTER XVI.

SOME CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS.

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The solution of the problem of alcoholism is bound up with the encouragement and development of certain ameliorative schemes. In Britain since 1914 the growth of the Industrial Canteen movement stands out conspicuously. The lack of any adequate provision for feeding workmen was one of the greatest incentives to the excessive consumption of liquor. A great many employees live a long way from their work and find it impossible to go home for a midday meal. This being the case, they take it wherever there is space available, frequently in the very room where they have worked, often with dirty hands and in a cramped position. It was the custom in Britain for the workman to bring cold food with them, usually bread and cheese only, with which many of them repaired to the nearest public house rather than remain in or around the factory. Very often the workman is quite insufficiently supplied with food, which in itself increases the temptation to drink, and the effect of liquor, taken with too little food, is far more injurious and more quickly intoxicating than it would be if con-

sumed with a good square hot meal. Such a condition of affairs incapacitated a man for even ordinary efficiency.

To meet the war office demands to "speed up" the delivery of munitions and war supplies generally, it was necessary to see to the welfare of the employees in every particular. That "extra output of energy necessarily depends at least in part on improved quality and increased quantity of food," was the verdict of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops in England. Prior to 1914 only a few of the larger factories had canteens. The great majority were without canteens, or even mess-rooms where the men could get their cold lunch heated. With the coming of the war the difficulty of feeding the vast armies of men and women workers became a problem calling for immediate solution and both the State and private firms were anxious to promote an increase of the efficiency, contentment and well-being of their employees. A committee was appointed by the Central Board of Control, London, and in 1915 a report from them emphasized the need for mess-rooms and canteens in the yards where the employees could get good meals in comfort without resorting to the public houses. The Industrial Canteen Movement was the outcome of this situation, and it was started

with the definite purpose not only of providing good nourishing meals at moderate prices, but also to restrict the consumption of alcoholic liquor. Mr. Bonar Law, in endorsing the new proposals, stated that "one of the things which have been made perfectly plain in all discussions about the drink evil is this, that the evil is not entirely due to the supplying of drink, but that it is due also to the want of facilities for supplying of food which should be taken at the same time." More food and less drink—not no drink at all, was the formula for the successful inauguration of what has proved a source of indisputable benefit to all participants in industry.

The canteen usually consists of rooms fully appointed for the cooking and serving of meals in quick rotation, a competent staff, and plenty of space with tables and chairs for the workpeople to dine at. It is always near the works and made as attractive as possible. In some of the canteens during the time set apart for the midday meal concerts and lectures are provided. If the factory is not large enough to warrant the building of a special canteen with all equipment complete, the provision of a large, airy mess-room may suffice. The essential things are that the workpeople have a place in which to wash and tidy up, a fresh and airy room with facilities

for heating their own dinner and opportunity to obtain at least cocoa or tea as they may require it. In some of the Industrial Canteens which are registered as clubs, beer is also on ready sale and is consumed in moderate quantities under rational conditions. The poor cooking at home, the double journey thither when the workman is already tired, to get the meal, and the haste with which it is frequently eaten, have all been cogent arguments to decide that a comfortable lounge in the public house near-by with a little bread and lots of beer is to be preferred to longer peregrinations in search of other food. In certain cases, where the private firms were unable to bear the entire cost of erecting a really good canteen, the British Government allowed a rebate on the excess profits tax to be devoted to this purpose. The canteens are, wherever possible, controlled by the workpeople themselves with the aid of a welfare supervisor.

Many private firms have testified to their great value and the third memorandum of the "Health of Munition Workers Committee" reports highly of the benefits derived from the establishment of the Industrial Canteen, and states among other things that "the Committee have been impressed not only with the improved nutrition manifested by the users of the canteen, but by a lessened

tendency to excessive consumption of alcohol, by the prevalence of the spirit of harmony and content engendered, and by an increase in efficiency." The industrial canteen has not gained any wide foothold in Canada, but the Massey-Harris and some other firms have introduced it with great success.

The ardent partisans of Prohibition believe it to be part and parcel of the Millennium, but as nothing in this world has yet been proven perfect it is not likely that prohibition will be the first exception to this rule. Therefore, even though prohibition is in force, it is important to do everything to discourage the foregathering of sinners in search of illicit liquor. A scheme which promises good results has been set on foot by the Salvation Army in the United States. Recognizing the fact that one of the big attractions of the saloon is its social aspect, for man is gregarious and loves gossip—they have leased a number of erstwhile bars in which they now serve all manner of soft drinks. Contrary to anticipation they have left the saloons themselves untouched—the same fixtures are used and the same old counter with its mahogany lounging rails is allowed to remain. In some instances even a veteran bar-tender is retained. These saloons are serving the very useful purpose of providing a common meeting ground for

men outside their own home—facilities for treating a crony met by good fortune in the street near by, and at the same time a number of men who are not consumers of alcohol for its own sake are removed from the temptation to visit blind pigs and to create a new social rendezvous in the vicinity.

Under the heading of ameliorative measures mention must be made of the vast possibilities of assistance to the successful working of prohibition from the establishment of municipal recreation centres, garden cities, gymnasias, and above all things, adequate housing conditions, for nothing drives a man to drink so readily as squalid, unwholesome homes such as are found, a blot upon Canadian civilization, in the slum districts of our large towns.

These measures may provide for the urban communities, but the problems of the betterment of rural life are to-day of more profound importance for the future of the country. From the beginnings of settlement in Canada the local hotel and its bar room have been the real nerve centres of the whole rural community. There the inhabitants met to transact business or discuss local problems and wide political issues; there were the "deals" put through, the disputes settled, the lodge meetings held, and the organization of life

made easier for the whole community. Thither came travellers, commercial and otherwise, bringing news of the great outer world and making it available for dispersion to the whole countryside. It was often false and more often trivial, but it added an interest to many a drab life and gave the agricultural population a personal contact with other worlds and atmospheres which the most brilliant journalist cannot bestow.

Now comes prohibition and this contact is lost. The farmers as they come into town have no impulse or motive to resort to the hotel, and as a result they meet practically no one from the outer world save when a kinsman, who has prospered in urban life, comes to pay them a triennial visit. On the other hand, the commercial travellers and the endless variety of agents, who have wares to dispose of, come to a town, transact their business and depart without meeting a soul save the business bourgeoisie of the town or village. As a result there is an ever widening gulf between the town and country. It was serious enough before but it has grown infinitely worse since the hotel licenses were abolished. Yet it must be admitted that the ancient hostelry of rural Canada was not a place of sweetness or light, which champions of rural betterment could with a clear con-

science insist on preserving as a necessary nerve centre of the community. The average hotel keeper in recent years was a person of poor education and inferior character—the old race of Bonifaces, often men of substance and standing, had gone in face of the relentless persecution of their calling by the temperance people who had branded the business with such opprobrium that it was almost as respectable to keep a brothel as a hotel.

The old rural hotel can never be brought back, but in its place there must arise a substitute. The community centre is now a recognized feature of all rural civilizations, to whose upbuilding, intelligence and forethought has been devoted. They are scattered all over Denmark, and Sir Horace Plunkett and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society are encouraging them in Ireland. Certain American States have made a beginning, and the idea is spreading into Canada. There are one or two established in Ontario, and in Manitoba the Provincial Government is giving active assistance to the project. Minnedosa and other towns have plans under way for the erection of a community building this year.

A proper community centre should consist of a substantial two-story building, equipped with every modern sanitary convenience,

electric light, etc., where available. It should be a model of good taste in its architecture and furnishings without aiming at undue elegance. It should contain a large reading room, wherein can be found the local daily papers with a good variety of progressive weekly and monthly magazines. Games like chess, draughts, cards, etc., should be provided for and a billiard table, if the funds permit. Another room should be fitted up especially for the feminine section of the community. Consider what a godsend it would be to the farmer's wife tired with a long drive and the worries of marketing to know that there was a peaceful haven awaiting her where she could snatch half an hour's rest ere she took the trail for home again. The Grain Growers' Association in the West have made a modest beginning by establishing rest-rooms in many towns and villages for the benefit of their women folk. There should be a good dancing hall and a large room for lectures and public meetings; a cinema apparatus might well be installed.

There should also be established in the building a small canteen where tobacco, sweets, ice cream and minor beverages would be sold. Great would be the fury of the local tradesmen, but it will only be one of the many developments due in the near future to

threaten their ancient supremacy. If providence and the vote of the lieges decrees that the other provinces follow Quebec in allowing the sale of beer and wine, the rural community centres might be given a monopoly of the business and the problem of their upkeep would be solved. One room might be set apart for a library and museum, where books could be gathered and local curios and records accumulated. Or it might be dedicated to commemoration of the Great War, with a roll of honour for the surrounding district and groups of local platoons and contingents and photographs of the fallen on the walls. There has been much talk and discussion over the form which war memorials shall take, but there could be no more practical form of war memorial for the rural districts than such community centres. They would be there in daily use as a permanent reminder of the sacrifices which had been made and the trials which had been endured and they would constitute no small contribution to the newer and better Canada which our heroes died to create.

The scheme need not entail any great expense, and, if possible, it should not be made the subject of direct Governmental action and subsidy. It should be the product of spontaneous local effort. The local council might

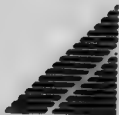
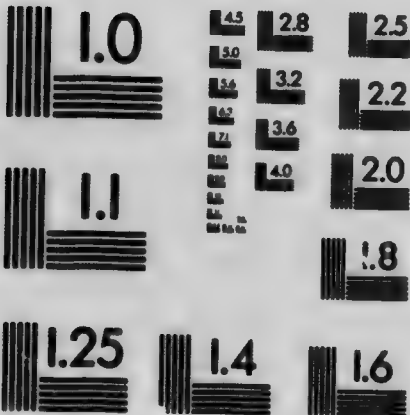
make a grant for the building, and promise an annual sum for upkeep. The furnishing should be accomplished by local bodies like the U.F.O., the Orangemen and the I.O.D.E. undertaking the responsibility for certain rooms and raising the money by their own special methods. A small annual fee for the privileges of the community centre should be charged, and the veterans of the Great War might be given life membership free under certain conditions. What the Federal Government could do to encourage the scheme would be to provide architects and designs for the buildings, but if municipality were left to vie with municipality in each perfecting its own local club, the results would be infinitely more satisfactory.

Unless the dreary old country hotel, which many a teetotal patron sadly misses, is to come back, some such substitute as the community centre outlined above must come into existence. Any one who has travelled through rural Canada must have been struck that its supreme need is greater access to the amenities of life. Many of the supposed amenities which city dwellers enjoy are unalloyed curses, but there are others, access to good papers and books, the chance of hearing new view points on current topics, whose absence means mental starvation and moral deteriora-



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tion for the individual. Rural life lacks a focus and rallying point for its common activities, and until our moral reformers set about providing some such institution as has been outlined above, their work is only half done and may yet be undone.

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CHAPTER XVII.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

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An impartial survey of the available evidence would lead to the conclusion that the abolition of the bar and the curtailment of facilities for the purchase of liquor have been of very considerable benefit to our population, but it is also abundantly clear that complete prohibition is a farce and, whatever our statute books may nominally decree, simply does not exist in practice. Moreover, it is highly improbable that it can be made effective in the present stage of mental and social development of the population of Canada. Inevitably this conclusion will be fiercely combated by the champions of complete restriction, for those who do not possess opinions, but whose opinions possess them, grievously resent cold facts which reflect upon the truth of their own assertion as a sort of blasphemy if it upsets the dogmatic principle of their pre-conceptions. The whole liquor problem is a vast and intricate question which demands longer investigation and more ample information than it is the fortune of most ordinary laymen to possess. Too often in Canada the chief apostles of

complete prohibition are merely comfortable and prosperous citizens who have made their money and enjoy the esteem and respect of their trade, church and neighbourhood. Many of them consider prominence in the temperance movement as a kind of free advertisement by which they can herald to the public at large their splendid piety and financial stability. A saloon keeper driven from the town or some poor wanderer put in gaol for buying a bottle of whiskey from a friendly, if illicit, hand, are to them brands plucked from the burning. There is also unhappily a large element in our midst who are always willing to

"Compound for sins we are inclined to,
By damning those we have no mind to."

Doubtless temporary abatement of this or that human folly can be brought about occasionally by a wave of religious enthusiasm such as when Father Mathew preached temperance to the Irish or Savonarola persuaded the Florentine dames to pile their jewels in the market place and exchange their luxurious robes and ornaments for the simple attire of the early Christians. But in the main it may be taken as a sound opinion that in social and domestic matters bad and arbitrary restrictions of the conduct of individuals tend to cause deterioration rather than development of the character and to demoralize the will

power of those who are subjected to them. There is no reason to suppose that the like results will not follow from similar restrictions imposed by public authorities unless they are decreed in answer to a practically universal demand and are in harmony with the general will and conscience of the whole community. All honor let there be to the man who abstains from liquor by way of precept and example to his weaker brother and seeks to convert men's minds. To him there is nothing due but respect, but the man who seeks to force upon the community what he thinks is good for them and who is out to use the temperance issue as an avenue to further his own political, social or commercial aggrandisement is in a different case. His efforts are more likely to injure than advance the cause he thinks to promote, and he may be the deadly enemy of liberty, purity and justice. He is the lawful descendant of the ancient Puritans, who forbade cock-fighting, not because it hurt the poor birds, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. Such men brought about the moral anarchy of the Restoration and their successors will never do aught for Canada. They are more likely to bring her into ridicule. In public life they are usually Pharisees, tools or knaves and the settlement of the liquor problem must be taken out of their minds and

handled by saner and more impartial minds.

According to the Rev. Ben Spence and other temperance orators, the working class districts of our cities are seething with poverty, drunkenness and vice, and for this heritage of woe a few saloons are responsible. It is true that there are very many poor people in the slum districts of our great cities and there are also many rich people, who make their money in these districts and live outside of them, and who are possessed of the idea that poor people must be bad and that they themselves are only rich because they are good. Do Sir Joseph Flavelle and Mr. Rowell, to name some prominent pillars of the temperance party, wilfully close their eyes to the fact that the evils from which the people suffer are just as much economic as moral? Does not the meagre wage, which the high cost of living devours at sight, paid in so many industries, preclude the average workman from setting up at an early age a home of his own with its moralizing influences and leave him with no refuge for his evenings save bare bedrooms or the saloon? It is all very well to disclaim against the evils of drinking as a kind of devotional or ecclesiastical exercise, but it is impossible to curb the unconquerable spirit of man by nursery restrictions or measure their souls by the footrule

of a materialistic or formal righteousness.

One thing, however, is certain : the old system under which our liquor trade was conducted was absolutely unsound and can never be restored. In the first place it is intolerable that there should be in our community a body of men permanently in the condition of helots as the old saloon-keepers have been for many years, engaged in a constant endeavour to avert the impending removal of their licenses and fighting against it by such subterranean and devious means as came to hand. These men were in the position of serfs and the serf is a moral leper, an injury to himself and a still greater injury to those who are put in a position to make him a serf, as well as a taint to the community which permits him to be treated in such a manner.

When his license had been taken away, the landlord knew that his customers had signed and kept the pledge, he might feel that his own commercial death was not fruitless, but nobody pretends that this result was secured under the licensing system. The drunkards changed their haunts and not their habits. Therefore we cannot possibly go back to the old regime of the saloons. The bar is "banished" for ever in Canada. Even the distillers in the pamphlet issued under their auspices accept and bow to this as an accom-

plished fact. They even go so far as to declare themselves opposed to the restoration of the bar. It is a well-known fact, however, that distillers have always favoured a modified form of prohibition—spirits are so much more profitable than beer and their consumption invariably increases under a regime of total or moderate prohibition. So the zeal of the distillers for the perpetuation of the bar's banishment may not be wholly altruistic.

Quebec has given the country the lead in a moderate settlement of the liquor problem. Of course the prohibition forces were there faced with more formidable antagonists than they will encounter elsewhere. Prof. Stephen Leacock, whose brief essay, "Wet or Dry," in the Montreal Star, was the happiest contribution to the controversy ever penned in Canada, is a host in himself. Montreal is the home of many breweries and wholesale liquor stores. The French-Canadians have inherited in no small degree the joie de vivre traditions of their mother land and deeply resent all arbitrary social restriction. There is also in the city of Montreal a large cosmopolitan population, which is not enamoured of Calvinistic repression of the habits and tastes acquired in its native lands. Taken all around, Quebec was poor fighting ground for the prohibitionists, and the result there may

not be accepted as an index of what referenda in other provinces will disclose.

Now that, by reason of the thirst obduracy or corruption of our Upper Chamber, the Federal Government's prohibition measure has come to naught, the ultimate settlement of the problem must be with the provincial legislatures. Much will depend upon Ontario. If Prohibition is ratified there, the Western and Maritime provinces will be strongly influenced to retain it. In such event the opponents of prohibition must needs bow to the inevitable, emigrate or adjust themselves to 2 per cent. and grape juice, if they are to be law-abiding citizens. Inevitably of course there will be manifold opportunities for evasion of the law presenting themselves, and the ample stores laid in by the richer bon vivants will quage their thirst for many moons. Did not Mr. Joseph Archambault wittily assert in the House of Commons that in Toronto a man's wealth was now estimated not by his bank balance, but by the number of cases of whiskey in his possession ? But if certain provinces decide by popular vote that prohibition brings more evils than benefits, what is to be their future policy in regard to alcoholic liquor. Are we to have a thing of shreds and patchwork, with province vying with province in its effort to offer more attract-

ive facilities for drinking, or are we to have some well considered attempt to put the whole business on a sound and healthy basis? The experience of Britain during the war has shown that State control and ownership is the best avenue to satisfactory regulation of the trade; in private hands no amount of precautions can keep out serious abuses. There has been much discussion in the press and parliament over the effects of railway nationalization, but there should be unanimity in favour of complete community control of the manufacture and sale of liquor, if it is not to be totally abolished.

The most sane and reasonable proposal for the future solution of the liquor problem in Canada which has so far been put before the public is that of Lieut.-Col. Machin, M.P.P. for Kenora who discussed the whole subject in a very excellent and informative speech in the Ontario legislature on March 4th, 1919. Like most sensible men, Lieut.-Col. Machin is opposed to the restoration of the open bar, but he is equally hostile to the inauguration of a prohibitory system, which does not fulfill its objects and is a breeding ground for a hundred varieties of fraud, hypocrisy and law-breaking. Lieut.-Col. Machin's proposal is that the Ontario Temperance Act (and presumably other Provincial Acts) should be so

amended that every municipality would be allowed to determine by a plebiscite whether it desired to have a public liquor store maintained in that municipality. If the plebiscite vetoed the project, the question could not be raised again for a fixed period of years. On the other hand, if it carried, a certificate under the municipal seal to the Provincial Secretary could serve as notice of the fact to the Government and a public liquor store would be opened in the municipality for the sale of liquor in sealed packages. The establishment would be controlled directly by the Government and the agents and employees would be civil servants paid by direct salary and working under the rules and privileges of State employees. Every genuine resident of the municipality, but no others, would be entitled to go to the agent and buy a license from him. On the production of that license the Government agent would sell to him for cash whatever he reasonably required in the way of liquor. There might well be placed a limit upon the amount which each individual could secure per month. The liquor stores need not carry any large stock, but there would be central stores with ample reserves available. No man should be allowed to purchase outside of his own municipality and the goods, when bought, would be sent to

his house by the agent and signed for by some adult. Penalties should be provided for breaches of the law and regulations in the shape of forfeiture or suspension of individual licenses and every precaution should be adopted for the honest and efficient conduct of the stores. Lieut.-Col. Machin makes no statement of policy about the agency of manufacture, but presumably he would not object to what would be the obvious course, that it should be undertaken by the State. In Lieut.-Col. Machin's opinion the liquor should be sold at 10% over cost and after operating expenses had been paid, one-half of the profits should be given to the municipality for the improvement of education and the other half paid into the consolidated revenue funds of the province towards the establishment of pensions for provincial civil servants.

This proposed solution is well worthy of serious consideration by the people of Canada, and their statesmen, if by such name any of our politicians may be dignified. It is of course a sort of improved Gothenburg system, but it meets some of the criticisms brought against the latter. It gives every scope for prohibition sentiment to exert its influence, and it would without doubt remove in a large measure the attractions and profits of bootlegging and illicit drinking.

Extreme temperance advocates will rail against the State polluting itself with "the accursed thing," but, as long as certain individuals in the State either legally or illegally pollute themselves, the sovereign body politic must be tainted in more or less degree even if only in its police courts. Possessed of a monopoly of the manufacture and sale of liquor, the Provincial Governments in whose hands the final solution of the problem must ultimately rest, would be in a strong strategic position, firstly, to regulate the sale of liquor, ensure its good quality, a most important matter, and enforce moderation in its consumption by the individual ; secondly, to make it a just weapon of luxury taxation yielding prolific revenues ; and thirdly, if simultaneously encouragement was given to the spread of the industrial canteen and the institution of rural community centres, to utilize the attractions of moderate beverages served under proper conditions as an engine for the amelioration of the barrenness of rural and industrial life in Canada. Will the moderate wing of the Temperance Party not consider such a solution ?

There is no need to deny that this temperance party has not accomplished some magnificent work : admittedly no propaganda of this century has called forth so much

unselfish effort or enlisted so enormous a body of helpers. The meetings held in the cause of temperance alone have exceeded the aggregate of those held for all other social and political purposes, and from them has proceeded enlightenment upon many evils of our body politic. But these good people undoubtedly depreciate the value of their own efforts and paint their country to the outside world in blacker colours than she deserves. For example, some years ago a distinguished English publicist in discussing the prevalence of political corruption in Canada declared that the manner in which she had tackled her liquor problem, gave him every confidence that she would some day face the wider problem of political corruption with equal success. The truth is that among the Anglo-Saxon peoples Canada has a high reputation as a temperate country. Her chief danger is that fanatics and extremists may fasten upon her a repute for bigotry and hypocrisy.

In the past our temperance reformers have failed to win the keen sympathy of the more enlightened elements of our community in as much as they have concentrated upon one small fraction of a vast problem and neglected the other equally important issues and causes. "A. E.," the great genius of modern Ireland, in his book, "The National Being," declares

that the building up of a civilization is at once the noblest and most practical of human tasks, but we Canadians have yet to begin to address ourselves seriously to it, and mere abstinence from alcoholic liquors will not provide us with a perfect civilization. Once the people of Canada diligently apply themselves to the problem of building up such a civilization as is possible under the blessings with which nature has endowed us, and aim to secure a primacy in the arts of life commensurate with the primacy in the arts of war which their army won in Europe, the liquor problem will rapidly disappear. With wise economic organization and the exercise of the true temper of statesmanship, it is no idle dream to picture for this country a social and economic system which would make poverty and misery practically unknown and eliminate with them the main incentives to alcoholism.